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A
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
R E V O L T OF
A L I B E Y,
AGAINST THE
O T T O M A N P O R T E,

I N C L U D I N G

An Account of the Form of Government of
Egypt; together with a Description of Grand
Cairo, and of several celebrated Places in
Egypt, Palestine, and Syria :

To which are added,

A short Account of the present State of the Chris-
tians who are Subjects to the Turkish Govern-
ment, and the Journal of a Gentleman who tra-
velled from

A L E P P O T O B A S S O R A.

By S. L. ^{designer} Κοσμοπολίτης.

K

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold for the Author, by JAMES PHILLIPS,
George-Yard, Lombard-Street : and Sold also by
L. DAVIS, in Holborn ; PAINE and SON, Mew's-
Gate ; J. SEWELL, in Cornhill ; J. WALTER,
Charing-Cross ; and by the Author, N^o 27, Comp-
ton-Street, Soho.

M. DCC. LXXXIII.

HISTORY

REVOLUTION

ALIBRY

OTTOMAN

Entered at Stationer's-Hall.



HAVING met with some passages concerning Ali Bey's revolt against the Turkish Government, lately printed in the German language, I thought it would be a loss to the public, not to know the whole history of this unfortunate prince; and therefore, having been intimately acquainted with him for a considerable time, and an eye witness of many of his adventures, I have, at the desire of several of my friends, drawn up the following faithful narration of his life and transactions: and since Egypt, Palestine, and Cælo-

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fyria, were the principal scenes of action, I have prefixed a short description of Egypt, with an account of the present mode of government (which is partly monarchical, and partly aristocratical), of the laws, privileges, and revenues of the republic, and the cause of the laudable revolt of Ali Bey against the Ottoman Porte. Then follows an account of his life and transactions, in which I have endeavoured to relate every thing with correctness and truth, but hope to be excused, if sometimes I am not quite exact in distances of places, and some trifling circumstances, having had the misfortune to lose my journal, with many other valuable things, after the defeat of Ali Bey, which obliges me to trust to my memory. Thirdly, I have added a description of several places in Cælosyria and Palestine, to illustrate the history, and assist the traveller in those countries ; and for the same purpose

TO THE READER. v

pose, I have copied, by permission of a friend, the journal of a gentleman who travelled by land to East-India, by the way of Aleppo, Bagdat, and Bassora; and as frequent mention is made of the Greek Christians under the dominion of the Turks, I have (I hope not improperly) added some account of the present state of that church.

The reader may doubt of the veracity of the author, and wish to know how he became acquainted with Ali Bey; I will therefore satisfy his curiosity as far as delicacy will admit. In the year 1746, about the end of May, a very interesting affair happened to our family; my eldest brother, to avoid death, or change of religion, thought proper to banish himself for ever from his native country; he took me with him, and we went to Damietta, or Pelusium; I stayed with him there two weeks, being then about the age of ten years, till he received

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ceived an answer from Grand Cairo, to a letter which he had written to a relation of my mother, who was then in the service of Rahip Mahomet, Pasha of Cairo; from thence I was sent from my brother's, to my uncle at Cairo. My uncle was intimately acquainted with Ibrahim Kiahaya, whom I mention in my work. Ali Bey was then in the office of hasnadar, and my uncle used frequently to take me with him to Ibrahim Kiahaya, who often ordered Ali to give me one thing or another as a present; Ali used also to come very often to my uncle's house, in the castle, and had many presents from my uncle, such as furs and broad cloth, and other foreign things; by these means I became intimately acquainted with Ali, though a youth. This first acquaintance lasted till the year 1749, in which time, the Pasha being dismissed by the Divan, in the manner hereafter mentioned, my uncle was obliged

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liged to follow him, and I also went with him to Natolia, to a town called Giufel Iffar, at which place we remained fourteen months; but my uncle's health being in danger, as the air of the country did not agree with his constitution, he begged leave of the Pasha to remove for change of air, and having obtained it, we departed from thence to Smyrna, and from thence to Constantinople. I stayed with him till the year 1753, at which time some circumstances obliged me to part from him, and live independent; I therefore thought proper to lead a mercantile life, and having some money in my possession, invested it in goods there, and putting them on board a ship which was going to Syria and Damiata, I went with it to Damiata, there I met Maalim Michael Farha, who was then under-commissioner in the customs, and protected by Ibrahim Kiahaya, and favourite to Ali Bey, with whom I became acquainted,
and

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and he bought of me most of my goods. From him I heard of Ali Bey's elevation, and begged of him, whenever he found an opportunity, to pay my respects to him. From that time I used to correspond with Maalim Farha, and in his letters he assured me, that he always presented my respects to Ali Bey, whenever he received any letters of me. He also very often used to send me a commission for European goods, for Ali Bey, which I punctually complied with.

In the year 1769, while I was in Europe, I received an order from Ali Bey himself, accompanied with Farha's letter, desiring me to endeavour to settle some affairs for him in my travels, and go to Cairo as soon as possible, because he had some service to employ me in. My affairs detained me in Europe till the year 1771, when I went to Alexandria, and from thence to Cairo, where I had the honour to
be

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be presented to him, by Maalim Farha, and since that time I remained in his service, till his defeat, which involved me in ruin. As for the things of which I was not an eye witness, they were related to me by Farha, Tantavi, Risk, Sulficar, and some by Ali Bey himself.

The reader will please to observe, that the dates mentioned in the life of Ali Bey, are according to the old stile.

THE

THE
GREEK LANGUAGE,

Both ANCIENT and MODERN,

TAUGHT BY THE

A U T H O R,

And rendered familiar in Conversation,

ACCORDING TO THE

TRUE GREEK PRONUNCIATION.

T H E
C O N T E N T S.

AN Account of Maſr, Grand
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and the Government of Egypt. Page 1

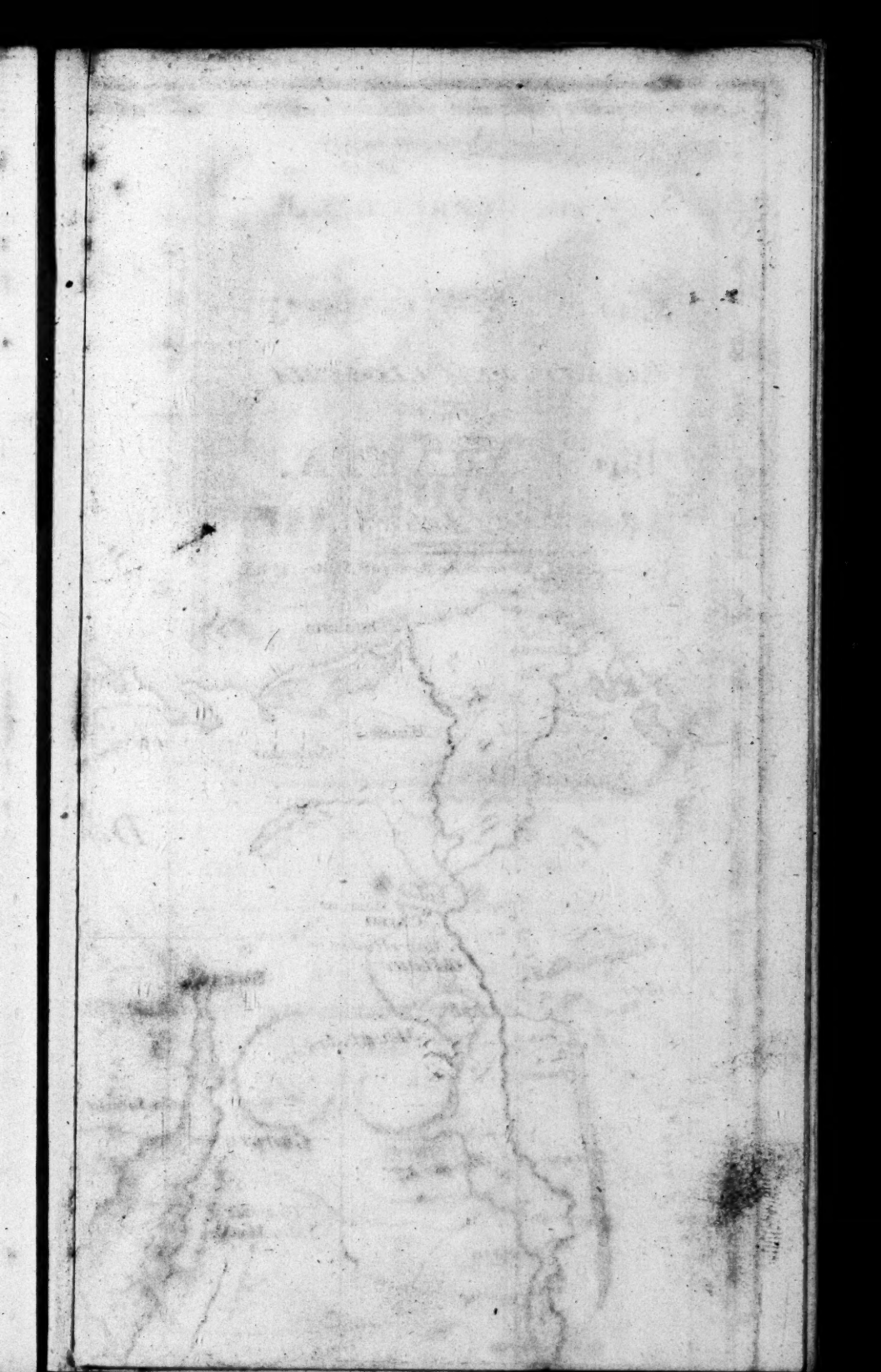
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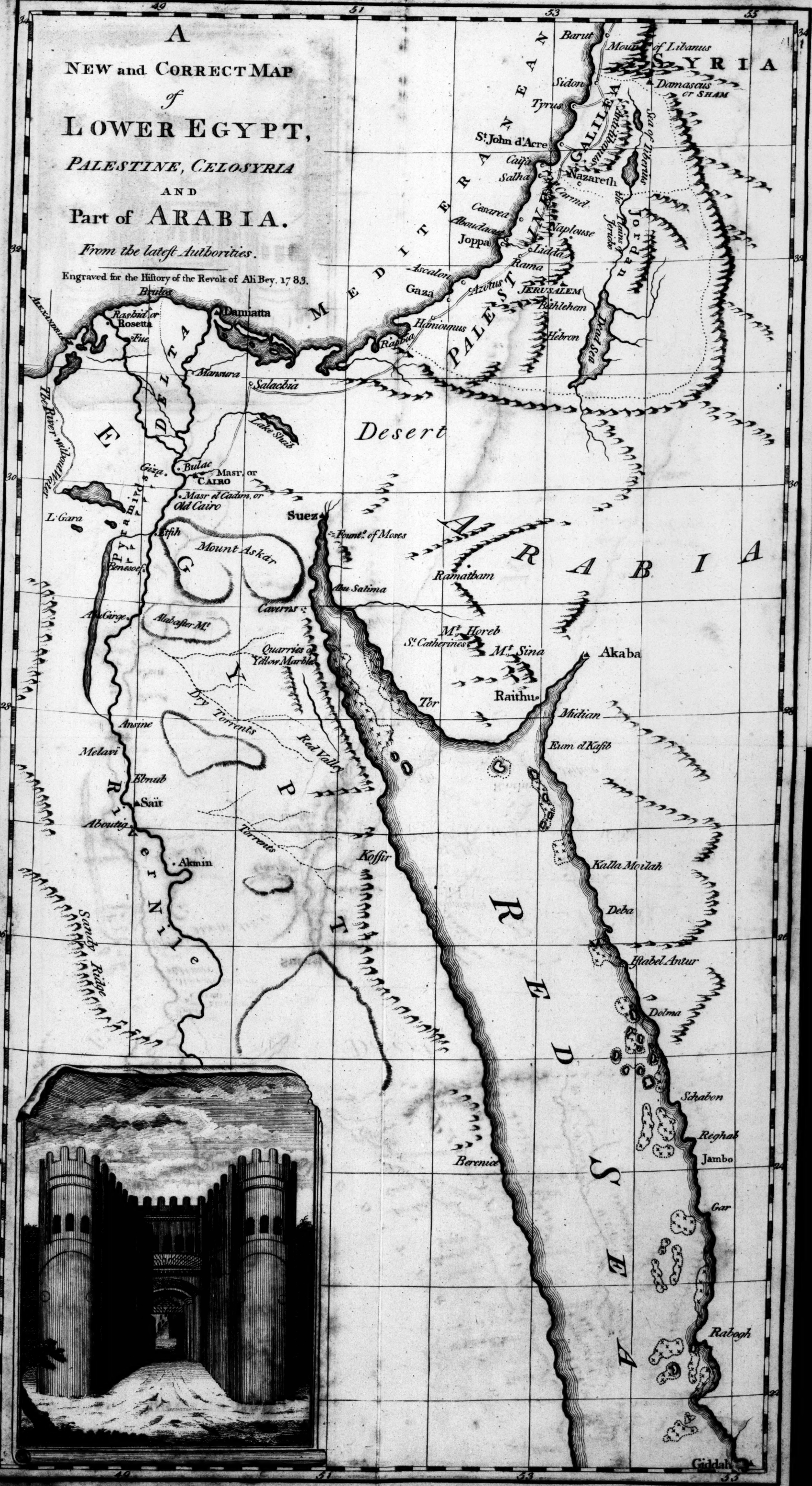
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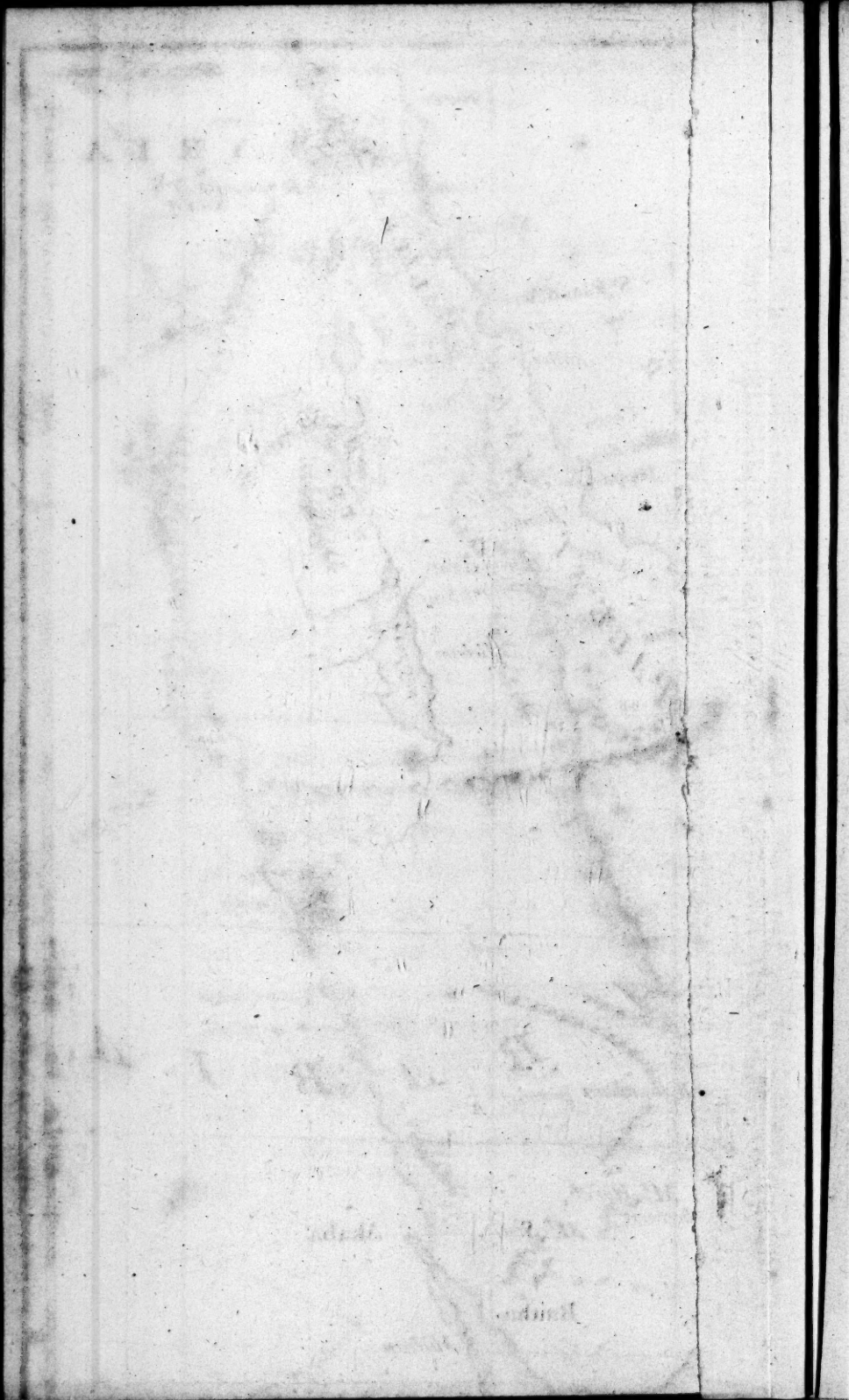
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A
 NEW and CORRECT MAP
 of
 LOWER EGYPT,
 PALESTINE, CELOSYRIA
 AND
 Part of ARABIA.

From the latest Authorities.
 Engraved for the History of the Revolt of Ali Bey, 1783.





AN ACCOUNT OF
MASR, GRAND CAIRO, BULAK,
the RIVER NILE,
AND THE
GOVERNMENT OF EGYPT.

EGYPT, divided into Upper and Lower, is situated in the north east part of Africa, between 29 and 38 degrees of east longitude, and 21 and 31 of north latitude, extending 600 miles from north to south; 100 to 200 from east to west; bounded on the north by the Mediterranean; on the east by the Red Sea, and isthmus of Suez, which divides it from Arabia; on the south by Abyssinia and Ethiopia, and on the west by the deserts of Barca and Nubia.

A

The

The government of Egypt is monarchical and aristocratical ; the first is represented by the Grand Signior's Viceroy, and the second is administered by the Mamluks, or slaves, which the word signifies, for no free-born man is admitted to the dignity of Bey, neither can the children of a Bey ever attain to it. These slaves are all natives of Iberia, commonly called Georgia, Circassia, or Amassia and Mengrelia, bought by the slave merchants, or stolen by banditti, who often make excursions into those countries, for the express purpose of stealing the male children of the natives, which they carry with them into Egypt, and sell for slaves.

In Upper Egypt there are eleven San-giaks, or governors of provinces, and thirteen in lower Egypt, all of whom are Mamluks.

There

There are twenty-four Beys, the chief of whom is the Bey of Mafr,^a which is the capital of lower Egypt; and the second in dignity is the Bey of Saide,^b the metropolis of Upper Egypt. The Kia-haya^c and Chaoufh^d of the Janizaries are included in the number of the twenty-four Sangiaks, by virtue of their office.

The city of Mafr, or Grand Cairo, stands about one mile from the river Nile, to the east, and extends from north to south, about four miles and a half, and three from east to west. It is situated at the bottom of the mountain, called by the natives Mokatam, having on the east a castle, built upon a rock. About a mile to the west stands the town of Bulak; on the north

^a The Egyptian name for Grand Cairo. ^b The Capital of Upper Egypt, situated on the banks of the Nile, 150 miles south from Cairo, and supposed to be the antient Thebes; it is 32 by 20 east longitude, and 22 north latitude. ^c Steward or Inspector General of the Janizaries. ^d Adjutant General of the Janizaries.

the ruins of the ancient Heliopolis ; on the south the town called Old Cairo, or Mafr-el-kadim, by the natives. The principal streets of Cairo generally extend from north to south, and the lesser from east to west ; these last communicate with the chief of these capital streets, which commences from the north-gate, and ends with the south, called by the natives Darbe-el-kibear ; this street on both sides is lined with shops, filled from top to bottom with all sorts of merchandize ; but great caution must be observed in dealing with the Arabs, especially those of the lower class, as they frequently ask double to what they mean to take.

The houses of the better sort of inhabitants are built of stone, and generally two, and some three stories high ; the rooms are large and lofty ; but those of the lower class are built of unburnt bricks, and only one story high. This
city

city is divided into districts, and at the entrance of each stands a gate. The aldermen and other officers appointed to keep peace and order in each quarter, are guarded by a corps of Janizaries, posted at the gate, and relieved once a year, who are not obliged to do military obeisance to any of their superiors. If any riot or disturbance arise in any of the quarters, and they neglect to assist the officers to quell the mob, and punish the culprits, they are not only dismissed from their places, but answerable for their neglect of duty with their lives. The houses of the grandees are surrounded with high walls, and are very magnificent buildings; the rooms are elegantly furnished, and painted and decorated according to the Asiatic taste; their gardens are planted with all sorts of fruit trees and flowers; water works and pools also are constructed and made in these gardens, with a fine species of marble, brought from Upper Egypt. The established religion

religion of the country is Mahometism, yet all other religions are tolerated; the Mahometans have many giamees, or mosques, and the greater number of them are very grand structures; the most magnificent is the Mosque of Sultan Hassan; next to that is the famous hospital Muristan, in which fourteen thousand men, and the greater part of them blind, are supported out of the revenue of the country. Near this giamee stands an academy, which is a very beautiful edifice. Not far from thence is a noble building called In-Stuck-Selah, where the merchants meet to transact business; from this giamee the great square of Roomeli begins, extending towards the south, about twelve hundred yards, and from east to west, about eight hundred. To the south of this square there is another less square, called Kara-Meitan, besides the stately buildings of giamees mectebes, or academies; there are houses belonging to the grandees, vekiales,

les, or inns, and public baths, or hammams, no less magnificent. In the middle of the city the Greeks have a large church, dedicated to St. Nicholas; near which the Armenians have one, and the Copts two; one near the Greek church, and another in a street called Harte-Room, in which street their patriarchs, and that of Alexandria, of the Greek persuasion reside: the archbishop of Mount Sinai has another, in a street called Juwania; though this prelate resides in Masr, nevertheless he is not a suffragan to the patriarch of Alexandria, but to that of Jerusalem. The Jews also have a synagogue not far from the Greek church, and they live all in one quarter of the city, which is shut up every night; the natives call that quarter Har-tel-Ihut, or the Jews street. A canal traverses the city from south to north, and divides it into two parts; the eastern part is called Ufbekie and Fundukie, the western Mosque, in which

street the European consuls and factors reside. There are fifteen bridges over this canal. 1. Kantaret-fuem-el-chalidfg. 2. Kantaret-ed-jeneine. 3. Kantaret-is-sabbà. 4. Kantaret-emeer-sei-hee. 5. Kantaret-ed-jamemys. 6. Kantaret-suqun. 7. Kantaret-abdurahman-kiahaya. 8. Kantaret-bab-el-harka. 9. Kantaret-el-emeer Husein. 10. Kantaret-el-mosque. 11. Kantaret-ed-seidide. 12. Kantaret-el-gidide. 13. Kantaret-el-bab-el-skarié. 14. Kantaret-el-charub. 15. Kantaret-ed-daher-beber.

The gates round the city on the east, are, 1. Bab-el-mafr. 2. North east, Bab-el-fituch, both fine structures; from the last, the procession of Emeer-harge to Mecca, is always commenced. 3. On the north, Bab-el-med-bah. 4. North west, Bab-el-nasha. 5. Bab-el-scarie, an ancient structure, and very strongly built. 6. On the west, Bab-el-luk,

luk. 7. South west, Bab-el-Bakrié, without the walls, and amidst gardens. 8. Bab-alaudan, between the gardens. 9. On the south, Bab-el-me-da-begh. 10. South east, Bab-el-shech-jehaip. 11. Bab-el-hadid, or iron-gate. Through these gates all the most valuable commodities are brought into the city. The gates which lead into the different quarters of the city, are, 1. Bab-el-favelle. 2. Bab-el-have. 3. Bab-el-suel-batui. 4. Bab-el-sche-chrihan. 5. Bab-en-nafrie. 6. Bab-gheit-el-pasha. 7. Bab-asup-bey. 8. Bab-setti-seinab. 9. Bab-teilum. 10. Bab-el-califa. 11. Bab-el-Carafe. 12. Bab-el-siaebbel. 13. Bab-el-arab-lissar. 14. Bab-el-caramaitan, which leads from the great square of Roomeli, into that of Caramaitan. 15. Bab-el-azab. 16. Bab-el-inkisharie. 17. Bab-el-vizir. These three last gates lead to the entrance into the castle. 18. Bab-el-hatab. 19. Bab-el-mahruk, or Burnt-gate. 20. Bab-el-kureib,

kureib, or short-gate. 21. Bab-el-sueli. The reader must observe, that Bab signifies gate, and Kantaret, bridge.

Provisions of most sorts in this city and country are very cheap; wine, sweet oil, and fire-wood, being brought from distant parts in Turkey, are rather dear. In the winter, when the water retires from the canal, it is rather scarce, for which reason, all houses having cisterns and wells, the former are filled from the canal, when the water of the Nile is let into the city, but the well water is rather brackish, and is only used for washing their houses and clothes.

The waters of the Nile begin to increase annually on the 16th of June, old stile, which answers to our 27th. Opposite to Old Cairo, is the key of the water, a house so called, built upon pillars in the middle of the river. In this house is a bason, with a column in the centre,
on

on which are cut figures of measurement, and as these marks are covered by the rising of the waters, the criers daily proclaim the height throughout the streets of the city. The river rises gradually till it increases to fifteen or sixteen spans, as they say, to which height it usually attains on the sixteenth of July, old stile. On that day the Pasha, attended by all the Beys, goes in procession by land to a Kiosk, or summer-house, built on the banks of the river; and in the mouths of the canal, multitudes of people assemble in barges and boats. On a signal given by the Pasha, the workmen directly open the mouth of the canal, and as the water then rushes into it, the Pasha throws handfuls of silver coins into the stream, and the Arabs diving after the money, are allowed to take away as much as they can get. In the same moment the people in thousands of boats rush into the canal, and with the sound of vocal, and many species of
of

of instrumental musick, join to express their joy on the occasion. Then the Pasha goes on board his bark, with his attendants, and is followed by the Scheik Bellet, in his bark, and all the Beys, who form a procession by water, similar to that which preceded the opening the canal by land,

Although this canal is of the utmost utility to Maſr, as long as the water flows, yet when it decreases, it leaves such quantities of fish where it hath formed lakes out of the city, that the air is corrupted by them; this it is supposed is the primary cause of the plague every autumn in this place, and which spreads throughout the whole Turkish empire. This is indeed evident, as the air is remarkably pure and salubrious in Upper Egypt, and in this very spot, before the waters decrease; and could this stagnation be prevented, by turning the waters

waters into different cuts, this fatal disorder might be prevented.

The soil here is very rich, and needs but little cultivation, as the river overflows the lands from three to six miles on each side of its banks. These lakes, which near six months appear like small seas, in and around the city, gradually decrease till they are quite dry, but then the grounds are laid out into gardens, meadows, and ploughed fields, for the remainder of the year, and are so fruitful, that the corn sown in them produces an increase of an hundred fold. Besides these lakes, there are canals in the city, especially at a place called Usbekie, where most of the Sangiaks have their summer palaces; each of these palaces have their own canals, which are called by the natives, burget, and on these burgets there are many barges and several other pleasure

pleasure boats, for the use of the grantees and their domesticks.

The banks of the Nile are thickly planted with sugar canes, especially on the isle of Delta, where the crocodiles often concealing themselves, watch for their prey, and sometimes surprise men and boys; but the Arabs are well guarded against them, as they never go out without having a strong stick, with a sharp and pointed lance at the end of it; whenever the crocodile makes an attack, which he doth open mouth'd, they thrust the lance into his throat, and kill him upon the spot; the Arabs also hunt them merely for the worth of their skin, which they sell to the shield-makers, who cover with it the outside of their shields. The Arabs are very expert in diving, they will remain under water for a long time, especially in hunting ducks, the method of catching which is this, taking

ing a long running knotted string in their hands, they dive into the river, and swimming under the ducks, pass a noose over their feet, and swimming back to the shore, as easily catch them by this method, as people do fish by angling.

The number of the inhabitants in the time of Ali Bey, was calculated by Malem Risk, to be between eight and nine hundred thousand; the most numerous class of them are the Fellahs, or Arabs; next to them are the Mamluks, and Turks; then the Copts, or the circumcised Christians, and of the sect of Monothelites; next to them the Jews, who are mostly employed in the custom-houses; the last are those of the Greek church, and Roman Catholicks, who are very few; besides those mentioned already, there are Persians, East-Indians, Magrepps, or Western Africans, Hapessians, and of other nations. The upper ranks
of

of the Egyptians are rather affable, honest, and hospitable, clean in their persons and in their houses, but the lower class of them are very deceitful, thievish, filthy in their persons and in their houses; foreigners must be cautious of them in their walks, or they will be sure of losing their money, and every thing else contained in their pockets; it will be better for a stranger to hire an ass, which may be had in every street, but he must not pass any of the giamees mounted; and if he meets any of the Sangiaks, or other person in high office, in his way, he must alight, and stand till he has passed him, or he will be punished, let him be of whatever kingdom or nation. They pay no regard to any Christian, except he is protected by the Sheik Bellet, and then he need not fear any molestation. In Mastr, neither Christians, nor any of the Mahometan priests are permitted to ride on horse-back.

As

As to the dress of the common people, the men wear next to their skin, a shirt of coarse callico, without a collar or wristband, which hangs down to their knees; above it they wear another larger, and longer, of a blue colour, and round their waist a leathern girdle, about a quarter of a yard in breadth, buckled on the front with brass buckles. They have no stockings, but on their feet they have shoes made of untanned leather, and on their heads a red cap, with a piece of callico wound about it. The women are dressed nearly in the same manner, but without girdles, wearing their outer shirt loose, reaching down to their heels; the seams of it are sewed with red silk, and both sides are embroidered; they wear a small red cap, and over it a coarse coloured muslin handkerchief, tied round with a piece of black or blue callico, leaving two holes in it to see through, which falls down from their heads over their faces

to their breasts ; some of them have a ring hanging in one of their nostrils, and their hair plaited behind, at the end of which hangs a tassel, made of beads and silk ; and others, instead of a tassel, adorn it with silver coins : most of them walk barefooted. In the superior classes the men are dressed in different manners, but generally in long robes, excepting the Magrepys, who are dressed like the Tunisiens and Algerines ; the women, when within doors, are dressed like all Turkish women, excepting their head dress, which is a small red or white cap, with some pieces of gold, or Venetian sequins round the edges of it ; the top of the cap is curiously embroidered with gold and pearls, covered with a printed fine muslin handkerchief, embroidered also round the edges. When they walk abroad they cover their bodies from head to foot with a large piece of fine white or black silk, except their faces,

faces, which are veiled with a muslin handkerchief. They wear boots made of yellow leather, and soled with the same, and over them a pair of sandals of the same coloured leather; their hair is plaited and adorned with jewels and pearls, and hangs down over their shoulders.

Having attempted an account of the town of Cairo, we shall now take a survey of the castle of Cairo, which is built on the east side of the town upon a rocky hill; it has three gates, two of them look into the large square of Roomeli, and the third into that of Kara-Meidan; the first, which is to the north-west, is called Bab-el-Azab, or the gate of the Janizaries, who are freed from slavery; the second to the west is called Bab-el-inkisharie, or the gate of the Janizaries, who are foreign Turks, and hired into the service of the republic. The third is called Bab-el-vizir, or the gate of the Grand Signior's

lieutenant, as it is near the Pasha's palace, from which the Sangiaks go to the Divan of the Pasha; the passage of it is cut through the rock, over it are rooms formed out of the rock, in which the lions and other wild beasts are kept. The castle is divided into three parts, the first contains the Pasha's palace, the mint of the republic, and some other old houses; most of this quarter, which is in the south part of the castle, and close to the mountain called Mocadem, or Dour-dagh, is fallen into ruin, and the traveller will be surprised to see the mean condition of that quarter, where the lieutenant of all Egypt resides; but as the time of the lieutenant's residence is uncertain, they care very little about it. In the second part of the castle are the quarters of the Janizaries, which appear like a fortress, having high walls and towers, after the ancient manner of fortifying towns in Europe. The third part is the Azab's barracks, in this castle

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is the famous well of Joseph, near the Azab's quarters ; according to the best judges, it has not been made above six hundred years, namely, in the time of Saladin, whose name was Joseph. This well is sunk in the solid rock, the exact depth of which I cannot recollect, but I think it is about sixty yards ; the descent into it is very commodious, and the water is brought up by machines, which supply the castle ; besides this well there is an aqueduct, which conveys the water from the river Nile to the castle. Joseph's palace is also a very fine building, in which several curiosities are to be seen, especially the place where the tissue is woven and embroidered, which is sent annually to Mecca. The view from this palace is very delightful, commanding all Cairo, New and Old, Bulak, the river Nile, and the Egyptian pyramids : besides this palace there are also many other fine and stately buildings, as Giamees, or Mosques,

ques, hot-baths, and houses in the middle of the castle; there is also a square planted round with large trees, and many shops, containing all sorts of commodities, and there are coffee-houses also for the accommodation of the Janizaries, and for persons under every description. To the east of this square you have a view of the aqueduct, supported by arches; this aqueduct, it is said, was built at the expence of the Jews, in the time of one Homar, Calif of Egypt; near Joseph's well there is a square, always frequented by vultures, which the Turks feed with flesh-meat. Neither Christians nor Jews may ride in the castle, and but few of these nations are permitted to reside there, excepting those in the Pasha's service. The whole circumference of this castle I take to be about three miles; in the suburbs there is a place called Carafa, in which I found a mosque and burying-ground for the Mahometans, and to this place the
Turkish

Turkish women resort every Friday, to visit the tombs of their relations, and it is a publick walk for them. This castle must indeed be very ancient, as no information can be gained of the length of time it has remained uninhabited; probably it may be a part of the ancient Egyptian Babylon, when this country was subject to the Greeks.

About one mile to the west of Mafr, and on the banks of the river Nile, is the town of Bulak, or the ancient Letopolis, which is very populous, having a continual bazar, or market, for all sorts of commodities; at this place all the rich merchandises are imported and exported, to and from different countries, and in this town provisions of all kinds are cheaper than in Cairo; the river abounds with all sorts of fish, which are sold very cheap; here are many chanes or inns, for the accommodation of foreign merchants. In this town is

the capital custom house. The produce of the country, which is exported yearly to all Turkey and Europe, is corn of all kinds, pulse, flax, sugar, honey, bees-wax, saffron, hides of buffalos and oxen, lambs skins, wool, cotton, hemp, fenna, and other drugs ; coffee is brought from Yemen to Suez, and from thence to Mafr, by camels ; the quantity of it is annually from twenty-two, to twenty-five thousand camel loads ; five thousand of it are paid to the government of Egypt, as a present, who sell it to the Europeans, the rest is for home consumption, and all Turkey. The Europeans export also from this country thirty thousand raw hides, of which ten thousand are buffalo skins ; twelve thousand cantars* of saffron annually ; they export also rice, flax, sugar, bees-wax, the Arabian gums, and some corn and pulse. The Egyptians receive all sorts of European manufactures, particularly broad cloth,

* Each cantar is about 118 pounds avoirdupois.

velvet,

velvet, silks of all kinds, fine English shalloons, and gold lace.

Old Cairo, or Mafr-el-kadim, is to the south of Cairo, distant about a mile from that city, and situated about an hundred and fifty yards east of the river Nile: it is but a small town, and chiefly inhabited by the Copts. In one of their chapels there is a spring of water, near which it is said Joseph retired with the Virgin Mary, and the babe Jesus, when he fled into Egypt from Palestine. It is also remarkable, that no balsam grows in all Egypt, but about this water; the Greeks have here a church and a convent joining to it, dedicated to St. George the Martyr; in this convent there is a subterranean flight of eighty steps, at the bottom of which a fresh spring issues, called St. George's water. The houses in Old Cairo are but meanly built, and the streets are narrow and inconvenient. Approaching to the river
side

side many ruins of ancient walls are to be discovered, mostly buried in the sand. At Old Cairo, or Mafr-el-kadim, are three custom-houses, in which all goods that are imported or exported to Upper Egypt, pay a duty of ten per cent.

On the other side of the Nile, opposite to this town, stand the famous Egyptian pyramids, being seven in number, three of them are much superior in size to the other four; the southernmost of the three is considerably the largest, and is the only one unopened. I went, with fourteen more in company, and breakfasted on the top of this ancient and venerable pile; but the air was so cold, we could not long endure it. It was not without much difficulty that we ascended and descended, the steps being two feet and an half high, and some of them much decayed. The distance of the pyramids from each other is very irregular; some are full half a league asunder, others more, and others
still

still less. They extend from south to north about twenty miles, and are generally about a mile from the river, though some are still farther off; they stand in a flat level plain, bounded on the west by some hills, and they are called the mountains of Pharoah. Ali Bey intended to have opened that pyramid, which alone remains unopened, in search of treasure thought to be hidden there, but was prevented from prosecuting that design by the revolt that ensued.

OF THE
MONARCHICAL PART
OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF EGYPT.

IT hath been already observed, that the government of Egypt is both monarchical and republican. The monarchical is executed by the Pasha, and the republican by the Mamluks or Sanguaks. We shall consider the former in this section.

The Pasha is appointed by the Grand Signior as his vice-roy. On his first landing in Egypt, the Sheik Bellet^b sends some of the Beys from Masr, to

^b The chief officer of the republic.

Alexandria,

Alexandria, with presents, to congratulate him on his arrival; but at the same time he plants a number of spies about him, to discover what particular orders the Pasha brings from the Ottoman Porte; whether they are peaceable, or contain any thing against the Sheik Bellet, the Sangiaks, or the republic; and, considering the number of the Pasha's retinue amounts to upwards of two hundred, it is not often very difficult to bribe the secret out of some of them, who may have the confidence of their master. If any such orders are discovered, the Sheik Bellet assembles the Divan of the republic, and acquaints them of the intentions of the Porte. Upon which the Divan sends an order to the Pasha, not to proceed any farther, but to depart the country immediately, which order, although he is the Sultan's vicergerent, he is obliged to obey. At the same time the Divan writes to the Porte, that they have discovered the Pasha's inimical intentions to destroy the constitution

stitution of the republic, and raise a rebellion, which intentions they are sure could not be in consequence of any orders from the sublime Porte, but must arise from his own ambition ; they therefore thought proper to acquaint their royal master and sovereign with them, and request him to send another Pasha, to preserve the peace of his faithful subjects ; and this method is always used, whenever the Pasha is obnoxious to the Divan.

But, when no disagreeable orders or intentions are discovered, then the Pacha proceeds toward Masr, and advances as far as Bulac, where he stops till his baggage and retinue arrive, receiving the compliments of the Sheik Bellet and the republic, with all possible marks of submission. The Sheik Bellet, at the head of the Divan, and the Janizaries, meet him with a grand procession, when the Janizar Aga * presents him with the

* The general of the Janizaries.

keys

keys of the castle, and he is requested to reside therein. The Pasha receives the Sheik Bellet and the rest with the greatest affability, assures them of his friendship, receives the keys of the castle, and when the ceremony is over, retires to the palace.

The next day the Pasha assembles his Divan, at which the Sheik Bellet and all the Beys attend, and the Kiahaya^d reads the Pacha's commission and orders from the Sultan. The Beys then bow, and promise submission and obedience to their sovereign, the Grand Signior, and to his lieutenant, the Pasha, as his representative, who then invests the Sheik Bellet with a robe of costly fur, and gives castans^e to all the Beys. A collation is then served of sherbet,^f coffee and sweet-meats; and when the Sheik

^d The Pasha's lieutenant. ^e Robes of ceremony, made of thread and silk, of a white ground, with yellow stripes. ^f A drink made of sugar, lemon juice, and rose water.

Bellet departs, the Pasha presents him with a horse richly caparisoned.

The Pasha must be a great politician, and a man of cunning, to keep his intentions secret in his own breast, or his stay will be very short, since every artifice is used to arrive at the knowledge of his orders and designs. If ever the Divan of the republic finds the Pasha guilty of any attempt against their constitution, they testify their resentment in the following manner.

A messenger is sent from the Divan, clothed in black, with a black bonnet on his head, and the order of the Divan in his bosom, a piece of which hangs out so as to be visible: he goes directly, without any ceremony, to the room where the Pasha is seated, and omitting every accustomed mark of reverence, advances toward him with three steps;

C

then

then stooping, he takes hold of a corner of the *ferchiade*, * and turns it up, and departs without saying a word, or delivering any order from the Divan, his appearance only being sufficient. The Pasha is immediately obliged to quit the castle and the city, and retires to Bulac, where he remains till he receives the Grand Signior's orders where to go. As soon as he has left the city, the Divan writes to the Porte, accusing him as aforesaid; nevertheless, if the Pasha is a prudent man, he may easily render himself independent of the Divan, as the Beys are continually in a state of discord with one another, and aspire to the dignity of Sheik Bellet, which is in the Pasha's disposal, though sometimes it is assumed by force; but if the Pasha gains the friendship of the Janizaraga, Kiahaya, and Chaoush of the Janizaries, he becomes superior to the Divan, and does whatever he pleases; but even then he must be moderate in

* The small carpet on which the Pasha sits.

his undertakings, or else his tyranny will soon be at an end. As an instance of a prudent Pasha, I remember that when Rahip Mohamet Pasha, was Pasha of Grand Cairo, he gained the entire affections of the republic, and was so highly respected by every one of the Beys, that nothing could have induced them to part with him but his last step, which he was obliged to take, in obedience to his master's commands. This Pasha ruled in Egypt seven years, at the request of the republic, namely, from the year 1742, to the year 1749, in which year Sultan Mahamout sent an order to the Pasha, to put to death as many of the Beys as he could, threatening, that in case of his refusal, his head should answer for it. The Pasha knew that this order was occasioned by the jealousy of the Grand Signior's Divan, and it was represented to the Grand Signior, by the Divan, that Rahip Mohamet Pasha had joined the Mamluks,

and intended to raise a rebellion. Accordingly the Grand Signior determined to try the Pasha, and to know whether the report was true or not, and for this reason sent the before-mentioned order to him ; the Pasha was extremely unwilling to put this order in execution, because if he did it publickly, many lives would be lost, and if he did not obey the commands of the Porte, he would be considered as a rebel. However, he resolved to risk his life rather than disobey his master's command. It is proper to observe here, that the Pasha holds two Divans every week, one on Thursday, and the other on Sunday, and the Divan of the republic is held every Tuesday. Upon one of these two Divans, the Pasha determined to execute the order he had received ; accordingly he ordered his domesticks to be ready, and arm themselves, on the day when the Divan met, and to keep their arms concealed under their clothes, and
a signal

a signal being given, to fall upon the Beys, and kill two or three of them; but in the mean time, he took care to secure the affection of his domesticks, by presents and promises of promotions, lest he should be betrayed by them. When the appointed day arrived, and his scheme was completed, three of the Beys were killed, and the rest, as soon as they discovered the plot, began to defend themselves, as they never believed that their favourite Pasha would act such treachery against them; but the Pasha directly shewed his order to them, and told them why he was obliged to act in that manner. However, the Beys in two weeks after sent such a messenger as I have before described, and the Pasha was obliged to go to Bulak, in whose retinue the author of this history was one, though his uncle and he were permitted to live in the city, till the Pasha was ordered by the Porte to go to Asia Minor. The extent of

the Pasha's power is such as I have described ; as for his revenue it is very moderate : he has no more than three or four hundred purses a year, each purse being five hundred piaftres. The greater part of his revenue arises from the customs of Suez, upon all the coffee which is imported from Mecca ; the rest of it consists of his perquisites from the Beys, and from the mint which is in his palace, and under his care ; out of this revenue he must support himself and all his retinue. I shall now leave the Pasha, and proceed to give a description of the republic.

THE

THE
F O R M
OF THE
Republican Government of Egypt,
WITH ITS
PRIVILEGES and STRENGTH.

THE Republic of Egypt, as I have mentioned before, is composed of four and twenty Sangiaks, Beys, or Lords. The head of them is the Sheik Bellet, who is chosen by the Divan, and confirmed by the Pasha. Every one of these Sangiaks is arbitrary in his own territory, and exerts sovereign power. He strengthens himself

by purchasing as great a number of slaves as he can, and hires foreign troops, composed of Magrepys, or Western Africans, from Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers, forms a party of his own, and then, when he finds opportunity, endeavours to suppress or overcome the neighbouring Beys, whom he considers as his antagonists : they often quarrel among themselves, and fight till one party gives way, or is put to flight, and the conqueror endeavours to gain the Sheik Belletship, either by election, or by force. As for their public appearance, a Bey, when he appears in public, is always mounted on horseback, before him four horses proceed, not mounted, but richly caparisoned, and led by eight men, two to each horse ; the men travelling on foot, if the Bey is in any town, but when he is on a journey, each of the four horses is led by a man on horseback. These led horses are called yedecks, and are intended for the
 Bey

Bey to ride in turn; after them two Janizaries proceed on foot before the Bey's horse, on which he is mounted; they are in long scarlet gowns. When they walk before the Bey, they twist up the right skirt of their gown, and throw it over their right shoulder. This sort of Janizaries is called *sarratch*, or *sadlers*: after them four other men march on foot near the Bey's horse, on each side two, who are called *seiz*, or grooms; after these his slaves follow him on horseback, according to their rank. Here I caution the traveller, if he is riding on an ass, and perceives any of the *Sangiaks* in his way, to dismount directly, and stand out of his way till he has passed by; or else he will be liable to be affronted, and perhaps beaten by the domestics of the *Sangiak*, because not only the Christians pay this respect to a *Sangiak*, but all the inhabitants, even the Janizaries themselves, except those that are in some high office.

This

This is the appearance of a common Sangiak, but that of a Sheik Bellet is more splendid ; instead of four horses, he has six ; and instead of two sarratches, he has four, and his retinue is double, and most of the Beys accompany him in all his public appearances in form. The Sangiaks, when they buy any slaves, after causing them to go through all the Mahometan ceremonies, and learn to read their prayers, train them up in the military exercise, such as learning to ride on horseback, shooting arrows, throwing lances and javelins on horseback, the use of fire-arms, the sabre and the girit ; which is a staff about a yard and a half long, and two inches thick, this they use on horseback, by throwing it with such dexterity at their antagonist, as to strike him from his horse at one blow ; beside other exercises which are customary to the country.

A Descrip-

A Description of the Manner of the Sheik Bellet's Election.

THE Divan of the republic is generally held every Tuesday, at which all the Sangiaks attend; and if any of them has a strong party, his party endeavours to compel all the other Sangiaks, either by bribery, or by threats, to shew their approbation of him, by electing him to the office of Sheik Bellet. Then on the next Thursday, on which day the Divan of the Pasha is held, all the Beys proceed in regular order to the castle, where the Pasha resides, and the newly elected Sheik Bellet going with them, they present him to the Pasha, who approves of him, and invests him with a valuable fur, and treats them all as before-mentioned in the account of the reception of the Pasha by the Divan; and the Pasha makes a present to the new Sheik Bellet of a
fine

fine horse, adorned very richly. As soon as the Sheik Bellet is invested with that dignity, he assumes an arbitrary government and power over all the Beys, who pay him the greatest respect, as if he was their monarch. He chooses all the officers of the Janizaries, except the Janizaraga, Kiahaya, and Chaouh : he appoints proper officers for the police, commissioners of the customs, and, in one word, almost every thing is in his power ; he can take away life, and remit the punishment of death, to those that are subject to it by the laws of the country. His colleague, who is generally the Bey of Saïd, and is appointed by the Divan, as his lieutenant, partakes of his dignity ; particularly when the Sheik Bellet is obliged to conduct the hafné, or treasure, and the pilgrims to Medina and Kiabé, or Mecca, he assumes the same power as the Sheik Bellet himself. Having mentioned the Sheik Bellet's lieutenant, I shall here give some
account

account of the Bey's lieutenants : a Bey's lieutenant is his Cashiph, of whom each Bey must have one ; these Cashiphs, in their master's absence, assume full power over all his vassals, and throughout all his house, except the harem, or women's apartments, and his children ; but all the slaves pay the same respect to him as to their master, because as soon as the Bey dies, the Cashiph inherits his master's dignity, and all his estate and household : for the children of a Bey cannot succeed to their father's title or property, but the Divan makes them a present of a handsome portion, and also to their mother ; but if she chooses to marry the new Bey, then her portion goes to the female children. Although the male children of a Bey do not enjoy their father's rank and title, yet they have privileges above the other natives ; their title is that of Ebn Bellet, or son of the country ; they may enjoy all offices, military, civil, and ecclesiastical ;

cal; they may serve under a Sangiak as kiahaya, and defterdar, or treasurer of the republic, and sometimes, but not often, rise to the dignity of Janizaraga, but never to that of Kiahaya, or Chaoufh of the Janizaries, as these two offices belong to the Bey.

I now return to the account of the procession of the Sheik Bellet, when he goes to conduct the hafné, or treasure, and the pilgrims, to Kiabé, or Mecca. On the day appointed for the journey, all the pilgrims, with their baggage, go to the gate called Bab-el-fituch, and all the Beys, who are to accompany him, with their baggage, are encamped two or three days before, at a small town about five miles distance from the city. In the morning the Sheik Bellet goes to take leave of the Pasha: the Divan also goes, carrying with them the confirmation and signature of the Molla, or high priest of Cairo, and his kiahaya, or lieutenant,

lieutenant, importing that the Divan, according to their promise, have delivered the hafné, in the presence of the officers appointed for that purpose, to the Sheik Bellet. Then the Divan and the Sheik Bellet proceed from the castle to the mosque of Sultan Haffan, in which is deposited the very rich and magnificent embroidered cloth, of green velvet, made on purpose, annually, to be sent to Mecca, for covering Mahomet's tomb, which cloth is put into a large round silver case, made in the form of a cupola. The Molla then begins the prayers, recommending themselves to Mahomet's protection, and praying him to accept their present, with many other ceremonies; when all these are over, the case, with the cloth in it, is put upon a camel, which is called by them the sacred camel, and is kept on purpose, and richly adorned upon this occasion. As soon as he is arrived at Mecca, and the cloth is taken from his back, they offer

offer him as a sacrifice to their prophet, and cutting the flesh into small pieces, divide it among the people, as holy meat. When they have put the new cloth over Mahomet's tomb, the sheriff of Mecca must perform all the ceremonies: he takes the old cloth, and cuts it into three pieces, one of which he gives to the Pasha of Damascus, or Sham, who is the chief emir hadg, which signifies holy conductor; another to the Sheik Bellet, as second emir hadg, and the third is divided among eminent pilgrims. The first piece, which was given to the Pasha of Damascus, is sent by him with a letter from the emir of Mecca, to the Grand Signior, and the second, which was given to the Sheik Bellet, or to one of the Beys, (who sometimes goes to Mecca as second emir hadg, instead of the Sheik Bellet), is put into the silver case wherein the new cloth had been carried, and being placed on another camel,

mel, is conveyed back to Grand Cairo, when the Sheik Bellet returns, who delivers it to the Divan; it is then divided into small pieces, and every Sanguiak or Bey takes one, which is kept with great devotion. These camels are brought up at Mecca for this purpose alone, and never carry any person, nor have any other burden on their backs; they must be males, healthy, and without any imperfection. Many of the pilgrims perish by thirst in the Desarts of Arabia, in their passage to or from Mecca, and their bodies being covered by the dry sand, lose all their moisture, and are often found in this condition. Their flesh is called Mumnia, and is used as a remedy against bruises, both internal and external.

Between Medina and Mecca there is a spring, called by the Turks Abouzemzem, or Ismael's water, as they believe it to be that which was dis-

D

covered

covered to Agar by the angel, as we read in the scripture: in this spring they wash themselves three days before the feast of Bairam, and are obliged to be naked all this time, (except an afuda, or cloth, round their waists) lest any vermin should be found upon them. When they arrive at Medina, on their journey to Mecca, every one of them is obliged to marry, or else they cannot be considered as truly hadgee, or devout; they also use many other superstitious ceremonies, the relation of which would be tedious to the reader. I shall therefore proceed to give an account of the original of the Beys, and explain how, from a very low condition, they arrive at that dignity. I have mentioned before, that neither a native of Egypt, nor any of the Beys children, can be made a Bey, but they must be Mamluks, or slaves: these slaves are mostly Georgians, Mingrelians, and Circassians, who are bought by the Beys, and when they

they have served several offices which I shall mention in the account of the elevation of Ali Bey, they are created Beys by their master's interest and influence with the Divan and Pasha.

The Beys always endeavour to create as many Beys as they can, of their own slaves, because by this means they strengthen themselves, and are more able to overpower their fellows, as every Mamluk, as soon as he attains to the office of Silihtar,^c Chiuhadar,^d Hafnader,^e or Cashiph,^f may purchase as many slaves as they can afford to buy, their master's never prohibiting them the exercise of this valuable privilege. To this account of the original condition, and elevation of the Beys, it will be proper to subjoin the privileges which were granted to this Mamluk republic, by Sultan Selim; the preamble of the

^c Sword-bearer.

^d Keeper of the wardrobe.

^e Treasurer.

^f The Bey's lieutenant.

grant, to the best of my remembrance,
runs thus :

Though by the help of the Almighty,
we have conquered the whole kingdom
of Egypt, with our invincible armies ;
nevertheless, our benevolence is willing
to grant to the four and twenty San-
giaks of Egypt, a republican govern-
ment, with the following conditions.

I. That the said republic shall ac-
knowledge our supreme sovereignty,
and that of our successors, and as a token
of this obedience, our lieutenant, whom
we shall please to send, shall be received
as our representative, and have his re-
sidence in the castle of Mafr : in the
mean time, he shall not do any thing
against our will, or against the republic ;
but shall co-operate with the republic
on all necessary occasions, for the wel-
fare of it. But if, on the contrary, our
lieutenant disobliges the republic, or
attempts

attempts to infringe on any of the privileges which we have granted to it, the republic is at liberty to suspend him from the exercise of his authority, and to send to our sublime porte, a complaint against him, in order that the state may be relieved from his oppressions.

II. That the republic shall provide for us and our successors, in time of war, twelve thousand troops, at its own expence, and that these forces shall be commanded by a Sangiak, or Sangiaks, belonging to the said republic, as long as the war continues.

III. That the republic shall raise and send annually to our sublime Porte, and to our successors, the sum of five hundred and sixty thousand aslany,* which

* This sum is now increased to eight hundred and sixty thousand: each aslany is in value about half a crown, English money.

money shall be sent to our treasury annually, as aforesaid, and accompanied by a Sangiak, and that the said Sangiak shall have a satisfactory receipt from the Defterdar of us or our successors, and sealed by our Vizir, with our own seal.

IV. That the republic shall raise another hasné, or treasure, of the same sum of five hundred and sixty thousand assany, for the use of Medina, and Kiabé, or Mecca; which treasure shall be sent annually, and accompanied by the Sheik Bellet, or the Emir Hadg of the republic, who shall deliver it to the sheriff, and successor of our prophet, for the service of the holy temple, and for the people who reside there, to procure their prayers for us, and all the believers of the Alcoran.

V. That the republic shall keep no more troops, or Janizaries, in time of peace,

peace, than fourteen thousand men; but in time of war, we give leave for the number to be increased, in order to oppose our and the republic's enemies.

VI. That the republic shall send annually to our granary, out of the produce of the country, one million of *cafiz*,^b or measures of corn, namely, six hundred thousand of wheat, and four hundred thousand of barley.

VII. That the republic fulfilling the above articles, shall have a free government over all the inhabitants of Egypt, independent of our lieutenant, but shall execute the laws of the country with the advice of the *Molah*, or high priest, under our authority, and that of our successors.

^b Each *cafiz* weighs twenty-five *occa*, and each *occa* is equal to two pounds and ten ounces of English *avoirdupois* weight.

VIII. That the republic shall be in possession of the mint as heretofore, with liberty to coin money in the name of us and our successors, and put the name of Mafr upon all sorts and sizes of coins, but with this condition, that the said mint shall be under the inspection of our lieutenant, that the coin may not be adulterated.

IX. That the republic shall elect a Sheik Bellet out of the number of the Beys, to be confirmed by our lieutenant, and that the said Sheik Bellet shall be their representative, and shall be esteemed by all our lieutenants, and all our officers, both of high and low rank, as the head of the republic, and if our lieutenant is guilty of oppression, or exceeds the bounds of his authority, the said Sheik Bellet shall represent the grievances of the republic to our Sublime Porte; but in case any foreign enemy or enemies disturb the peace of
the

the republic, we and our successors engage to protect it with our utmost power, until peace is re-established, without any cost or expense to the republic.

Given and signed by our clemency to the republic of Egypt.

This grant of privileges was dated in the year of our Lord, 1517, and in the 887th year of the Mahometan Hegira, in which year Sultan Selim conquered Egypt from the Mamluks.

I shall now proceed to give the reader a short account of the coinage of Egypt, and the method that is taken to procure a supply of materials, I mean the gold, silver, and copper. The Divan of the republic appoints a commissioner to contract with the western and southern Africans, for bringing gold dust and silver ore to Cairo, which are brought to that place upon camels. This commissioner,

missioner, as soon as he has collected a sufficient quantity, delivers it to the commissioner of the mint, and takes a receipt from him for the weight of it. Afterwards the Divan gives notice to the Pasha, that they have delivered such a quantity of gold dust and silver ore to the commissioner of the mint, and requests him to issue an order to the said commissioner to coin so many mahboobs, zenjirlys, and funduklys, all which coins are of gold ; and out of the silver, paras, and pieces of five, ten, fifteen, twenty, thirty, forty, and sixty paras. Of the three gold coins before-mentioned, the value of the first is six shillings and ten-pence half-penny ; of the second seven shillings and seven-pence, and of the third, nine shillings and six-pence, of English money. Of the silver coins, a para, which is the smallest, is equal to three farthings ; it is called para by the Turks, and by the Arabs, masrié, so named from the city of Masr, or
Grand

Grand Cairo, where they are coined. The piece of five paras is called by the Turks, beshlic, and by the Arabs hamfié; the ten para piece is called by the Turks, ooroop, and by the Arabs roobié; that of fifteen paras, ombeshlic, by the Turks, and by the Arabs, noos-zolot, or half-zolot; the pieces of twenty paras, is called yarim-cooroosh, or half-cooroosh, by the Turks, and noos-cursh, or half-cursh, by the Arabs; the piece of thirty paras is called zolot, both by the Turks and Arabs; and the piece of forty paras, is called by the Turks, cooroosh and aslany, and by the Arabs cursh.

The copper coins are manghires and jidits; ten of the former are equal to a para, and four of the latter. The word jidit signifies new, and this coin is so called, because this species has been more lately introduced than the other. These are the coins of the country

country of Egypt, but several foreign coins are also current there, namely, Venetian sequins, Dutch and Hungarian ducats; Spanish silver coins of all sizes, and imperial dollars, and half dollars. The imperial coins are called pataks, and noos-pataks in Egypt.

The Venetian sequins, and the Dutch and Hungarian ducats pass in Egypt for five paras more than their intrinsic value. The silver coins above-mentioned bear also a good premium. I have mentioned thus particularly the different sorts of Egyptian coins, and the current value of foreign coins there, in order that people travelling there may not be imposed on; and I advise the reader to travel in those countries as privately as possible, without appearing to be rich, or making an ostentatious display of his property, because by such a display of wealth, he would run the risk of losing it, and sometimes his life may be in danger

ger from the lower class of people. Having given this caution, I think it may not be unentertaining to mention some of the laws of the country, respecting provisions, and how those are punished who are guilty of selling short weight; I shall begin with the baker. If a baker sells short weight, or bad bread, and is taken in the fact by the inquest (who go about daily to inspect provisions, and examine weights and measures) for the first offence, the inquest gives all the bread that they find in his shop to the poor, and then the offender is nailed to his own door, sometimes by one ear, and sometimes by both, for the space of twelve hours. For the second offence, his bread is distributed as aforesaid, and he receives the punishment of the bastinado, by receiving two or three hundred blows upon his feet, and sometimes upon his back, and afterwards they put a large and broad board, heavily loaded with lead, upon

upon his shoulders, which board has a large hole in it for his head to come through ; with this mark of infamy they force him to walk through most of the capital streets of the city, till his strength is nearly exhausted ; and if he survives this punishment, and commits a third offence, he is condemned to be beheaded.

If a butcher sells short weight, or stinking meat, for the first offence, his stock of meat is given to the poor, and he is tied to a post where the sun may shine all day upon him ; then they hang a piece of putrid flesh close to his nose, and leave him in that position till the piece of flesh produces worms, and they fall down upon his body ; besides this, he is sentenced to pay a sum of money. For the second offence he undergoes several corporal punishments, and is obliged to pay a very heavy fine, and the third offence is punished
with

with death. Thieves and house-breakers are also put to death, after suffering torture. If a pick-pocket or thief is taken in the fact, he is beheaded without any formal trial; but an house-breaker is placed naked upon a camel, and his legs are tied under the camel's belly; the executioner rides behind him, having in his hands thin candles made of brimstone. The driver of the camel drives him through most of the capital streets, and in the mean time the executioner having lighted the candles, puts them upon the criminal's skin; the candles being very long, hang down over his shoulders, on his breast and back, burning from the bottom upwards, and when all his candles are burnt out, carries him to a square called Karamaitan, or the black square, where all criminals are beheaded, who suffer that punishment; there he cuts his head off, and if he is a Mahometan, places his head under his right arm; but if he is a Christian,

a Christian, under his feat. By these several examples, the reader will be enabled to form an idea of the punishments inflicted on offenders in Turkey. If a Janizary is guilty of desertion, he is laid flat upon the ground, and receives four or five hundred blows with rods or sticks, upon his posteriors, and afterwards is compelled to sit in a pail of salt and water, till the bleeding of his wounds is stopped. If a Janizary commits wilful murder, he is strangled in a private room, lest by a public execution, an insurrection of the Janizaries should be excited, and soon after they fire a gun to announce his death; but if he has done any thing which is esteemed unworthy of the dignity of the rank of a Janizary, so as to disgrace the honour of his profession, the other Janizaries take off first his turban from his head, and afterwards tear the collar of his garment, give him a slap in the face, and so dismiss him. It is to be observed,

served, that all criminals, unless they are Janizaries, are sentenced by the Feshta, or order of the Molah, or high-priest, who is the dispenser of the law, though he must obey the commands of the Sheik Bellet, who sometimes condemns offenders without his concurrence ; but the Janizaries are subject to their own peculiar laws, and pay no regard to the Feshta of the Molah. I shall here conclude my account of the laws, and give the reader an idea of the revenue of the republic of Egypt. The annual revenue is calculated to be between twenty and thirty millions of assany, each assany being worth about half a crown, English money, which revenue arises from customs upon all sorts of merchandise imported and exported, and from a tithe of all the produce of the country. Out of this sum, three millions and three hundred thousand assany go to the Grand Signior's treasury, and to Mecca, and the re-

E mainder

mainder of the money is employed in supporting fourteen thousand Janizaries, and as many blind men, (as I have mentioned before) in paying the expenses attending the arrival of a new Pasha, his reception, and the departure of the old Pasha ; in paying the officers of the customs, and the collectors of the revenue, the officers of the police, and of other departments, together with the Sheik Bellets, and all the officers, the colleague, or lieutenant of the Sheik Bellet, the defterdar, chancellor, and secretaries, and in short every other expense attending the affairs of the Divan.

Each Bey's revenue is uncertain, for they do whatever they please with their vassals, and for this reason I cannot give a positive account of their income, but I think that, one with another, they have each about one million of piastrs, or half crowns of English money. I am of opinion, that if these Beys were united,

ed, and lived in a state of amity, there would be no other princes richer and more powerful (in that part of the world) than they ; for as to the Pasha of Cairo, I have mentioned in another place, that he has no right to exercise any power at all over the Beys, or the Janizaries, nor even to interfere in the affairs of government ; nor would he be able to do it, if the Divan of the Beys preserved its authority ; but their discord and dissensions afford him an opportunity of becoming superior to them, and exercising supreme power over the country.

This introductory account of the country of Egypt, I thought necessary to premise to the life of Ali Bey, in order that the reader may be enabled to understand the better several passages that will occur, and which would not perhaps be sufficiently intelligible without it.

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THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
A L I B E Y.

S E C T. I.

Containing an Account of his Birth,
Captivity, Arrival in Egypt, and Advancement.

AL I B E Y was born in the principality of Abazea, or Amafia,* of a good family, his father being a priest of the Greek church, which in that country is mixed with Mahomedism. His father's name was Daout (or

* Amafia is the name of the northern division of the Lesser Asia, lying on the south shore of the Euxine Sea, in Natolia; it takes its name from Amafia, the capital, near the river Iris. It was anciently the seat of the kings of Cappadocia, and is now sometimes the residence of a Turkish Beylerbey, or Viceroy.

David) and he was baptized by that of Josouf (or Joseph). Joseph Daout had no other children than two daughters, the youngest of whom was named Yiachut, or Ruby.

Joseph was born in the year 1728, and nothing remarkable happened to him till he was thirteen years old, when being on a hunting party, in a neighbouring wood, with some companions of his own age, they fell into the hands of a band of men, who make it their business to maraud in Circassia, Mingrelia, and Natolia, and to steal children, in order to sell them in other parts.

Joseph was soon after sold to a merchant, named Kiurd Achmet, who brought him into Egypt, and sold him again to Ibrahim Kiahaya, a Georgian by birth, and second in command with Ismael Chaoush, under the Pashalik,
or

or government of Chiore Achmèt Pasha.

On Joseph's arrival, he was compelled to go through the ceremonies of the Mahometan law, and received thereupon the name of Ali. He was then put under the care of a hogia, or tutor, to learn to read and write, and to be instructed in the principles of the Koran. Eighteen months having been elapsed, and Ali having given great satisfaction by his assiduity, and proofs of a strong natural genius, Ibrahim Kia-haya made him one of his domestics at the age of fifteen, and he successively executed the offices of Imbrickchee Pasha,^b Chiupukchee Pasha,^c Caffegi Pasha,^d Sarickchee Pasha,^e Silictar Aga,^f Chiohadar Aga,^g and Hasnadar

^b Bearer of the bason and towels for the washing, or ablution, which the Mahometans always use before their prayers. ^c Keeper of the pipes and tobacco. ^d Keeper of the coffee equipage and plate. ^e Keeper of the Turbans. ^f Sword bearer. ^g Wardrobe keeper.

Aga;^a all these offices he discharged much to his master's satisfaction; and having served as Hasnadar Aga for the space of three years, and being then twenty-two years old, he raised him to the dignity of Cashiph.

Although Ibrahim Kiahaya had above two thousand slaves, many of whom had been raised to the dignity of Beys, yet Cashiph Ali possessed his esteem in a superior degree; and he was high in the estimation of even Rahip Mahomet Pasha, who succeeded Chior Achmet Pasha in the government, in 1743, who was very kind to him, till the year 1749, when he was obliged to quit Grand Cairo, as I have before said, and was sent to the Pashalik of Giusef, in Anatolia; afterwards he was made Pasha of Damascus, or Sham, as the Turks call it, and then was made Vi-

^a Treasurer of the Household.

zier to Sultan Mustapha, and continued his favour to Ali Bey. In these countries indeed envy constantly attends on favour, and as soon as the protector dies, the protected finds his enemies will exert their power. This fate Ali experienced in the year 1765, when on the death of the Vizier, his protector, his enemies joined the Pasha of Cairo to effect his ruin, as will appear in the sequel,

A great caravan of pilgrims setting out for Mecca, in the year 1750, Ibrahim Kiahaya was appointed Sheik Bellet,¹ and was obliged to accompany the pilgrims in the character of Emir Hadg.² Ali went with his master, and had a favourable opportunity of shewing his valour, for the caravan being attacked by a party of Arabs, Cashiph Ali was ordered to head a select num-

¹ Chief of the country. ² Conductor of the holy pilgrimage.

ber of troops to repel them: this service he executed with such spirit and conduct, that he entirely routed the Arabs, and was honoured with the surname of Gin Ali.¹

On the return of the caravan, another troop of Arabs assailed them, but Ali attacked them with such impetuosity, that they fled, leaving more than thirty slain in the skirmish. This conduct riveted Ali in the favour of Ibrahim, who, on their entering Cairo, recommended him so strongly to the Pasha, Idinee Achmet, that he received him with the greatest marks of friendship, and honoured him with a caftan.^m

Mean time Ibrahim Kiahaya, anxious for the promotion of Ali, proposed to the Divan of Cairo, to raise him to the

¹ Ali the genius. The genii are supposed to be tutelary beings. ^m A robe of dignity or honour.

rank of Bey, or Lord. This was strongly opposed by another Ibrahim Bey, who being a Circassian by birth, we shall distinguish by the name of Cerkes, (or Circassian) Ibrahim. He wanted to promote one of his slaves to that rank, but the Georgian Ibrahim influenced Idinee Achmet Pasha in Ali's favour, who was created a Bey in the Divan. This laid the foundation of that enmity between the two Ibrahims, which did not end till the Georgian fell a sacrifice to the party of the Circassian, in the year 1758.

As Ali Bey had a grateful affection for his master Ibrahim; and was a man of strong passions, he was roused by his murder to a determination to avenge it: he however concealed his intentions for above three years, and in the interim he purchased a number of slaves, and by repeated and well timed presents, ingratiated himself so well in the
favour

favour of the Pasha of Cairo, that he was appointed in the year 1763 Sheik Bellet; and a few months after he killed Cerkes Ibrahim.

This action indeed shewed his affection for his late master was stronger than his prudence, for it brought his own life into danger, and obliged him to quit his office, and fly into Palestine. The Mohafill^a of Jerusalem was his friend, and accordingly protected him for two months. But strong representations having been made against Ali Bey, at the Grand Divan of the Sultan at Constantinople, an order was dispatched to the governor of Jerusalem, to seize Ali Bey, and send him in chains to the Porte. Ali had notice of this intention time enough to prevent its execution, by a flight to St. John d'Acre^c, where, being a man of great

^a Deputy Governor under the Pasha of Damascus.
^c Acra, or Acre, the antient Ptolemais, a port town of Asiatic Turkey, situate in Palestine, on the Levant Sea, south of Tyre.

address,

address, he established an intimate friendship with Scheik Omar-dahar, the prince of that place; and was so powerfully assisted at Cairo by his own friends, and those of his late master, who honoured him for avenging his murder, that the Divan in Constantinople was influenced to reverse their order, recall him from exile, and reinstated him in the post of Sheik Bellet, towards the end of the same year. But in the year 1765, finding fresh plots raised against him, he fled into Arabia Felix, and from thence into Palestine again, and the next year returned to Egypt by the influence of his party; and finding that some of the Beys of Cerkes Ibrahim's party, were remaining, he put four of them to death, and by this means reigned in uninterrupted peace till the year 1769.

THE

S E C T. II.

CONTAINING ANECDOTES

O F

A . L I B E Y

T I L L H I S R E V O L T.

AS some of the principal slaves of Ali Bey have a great share in the following narrative, it may be proper to give some account of them in this section.

In the year 1758, a Jew, who was commissioner of the customs in Alexandria,

andria,* had purchased a youth from a Turkish merchant, and knowing that Ali Bey was the favourite of Ibrahim Kiahaya, made a present of him to Ali. This youth was then about sixteen; was born in Circassia; was well made, bold, and courageous, and very expert in his exercises: possessing these qualities, and being also his countryman, Ali Bey took him, and having no male children, he grew very fond of him, called him his son, and in the year 1766 got him created a Bey, little thinking he was heaping favours on a monster of ingratitude; who was known by the name of Mohammed Bey Abudahap.

As Ali Bey had lost his good friend Rahip Mohammed Pasha in 1765, and found his enemies increasing, he resol-

* A city and sea-port in Lower Egypt, fourteen miles west of the westernmost branch of the Nile, and one hundred and twenty-five miles north west of Cairo. It was built by Alexander the Great, and is called Scanderia by the Turks.

ved to strengthen his own party by the purchase and advancement of a number of slaves, so that he had no less than six thousand ; sixteen of which he, from time to time, by his power and interest, caused to be created Beys, or Sangiacs, and advanced one to the important post of Janizar Aga ; having besides six thousand Magrepys, or Western Africans in his pay.

The chief of these exalted slaves of Ali Bey, were Mohammed Bey, surnamed Abudahap,^p from his known avaricious temper. Ali Bey Tantavi, a Georgian ; Ishmael Bey, a Georgian ; Halil Bey, a Georgian ; Abdourahman Bey, a Georgian ; Morat Bey, a Circassian ; Rosvan Bey (nephew to Ali Bey) of Abazia ; Hassan Bey, and Mustapha Bey, both Georgians ; Ibrahim Bey, a Circassian ; Achmet Bey, of Abazia ;

^p The father of gold.

Latiph Bey ,and Osman Bey, both Circassians ; Ackip Bey, Yufouph Bey, Sulphicar Bey, all Georgians ; with Selim Aga the Janizar Aga, and Sulieman the Kiahaya, or inquisitor general of the Janizaries, both of the same country.

Ali Bey had, in the year 1764, purchased a most beautiful girl, born in Red Ruffia,^a and brought to Masr by Mustapha Trabazonou, or Mustapha of Trebizond ;^r he became greatly enamoured of her, and scorning to triumph over her virtue, he proposed to marry her, if she would become a Mahometan ; she obstinately refused to change her name of Mary, or quit her Christian faith. He applauded her firmness, and assured her, if she would conform in public to the religion of the country,

^a Red Ruffia, or Little Ruffia, is a province of Poland, beyond the Carpathian Mountains, which divide it from Transylvania and Hungary. ^r Trebizond is a city and port of Turkey, in Asia, on the Black Sea ; the suburbs are inhabited by Greek and Armenian Christians.

she

she should keep her name, and adhere to the Christian rites in secret. Mary consented, and was married to Ali Bey, whose love still increased so much, that though he had a great number of other beautiful female slaves, he remained constant to his lovely Mary, who in the year 1765, brought him a girl, who was named Hatige. Mary was indeed deserving of his love, not only for her elegant figure, her lovely black eyes, dark brown tresses, and rosy complexion, but for her affability, sweetness of temper, and nobleness of mind. Though she had many female slaves, she treated them as sisters.

In the year 1766, Ali Bey sent Tantavi, one of the afore-mentioned favourites, whom he had raised to the dignity of a Bey, to conduct the *Hafne** to

* The tribute paid annually by the republic of Egypt to the Grand Signior.

Constantinople; giving him instructions, that on his arrival in that city, he should send a proper person to Abazia, to inquire if his father and sister were living; to invite them to Constantinople, and on Tantavi's return, to bring them with him to Mafr. Tantavi obeyed these orders, and dispatched his Hafnadar,* who found Daout, Ali Bey's father, and delivered his message. The old man overjoyed at hearing from his son, soon settled his domestic concerns, and set out with the Hafnadar, his youngest daughter, and his grandson, leaving his eldest daughter at home with her husband, to take care of his affairs.

Having arrived at Constantinople by the time that Tantavi had finished his commission, Daout, and his daughter and grandson, accompanied him to Egypt,

* His Treasurer.

where

where they arrived, after a journey of forty days.

Ali Bey having been informed by an express, of Daout's approach, he went out of the city with a numerous retinue to meet him, and as soon as he saw him, he fell on his knees and kissed his father's hand. The joy of the father and son was expressed by tears, being for a while too great for words. The son was transported to see his parent, after an absence of so many years; and the father was no less happy to find his son in such an elevated rank. They all proceeded to Ali Bey's palace in the Usbeckie, in Cairo, where Daout's feet being washed by the domesticks, he was led into the Harem,* and Ali Bey presented to him the princess Mary and her child. Daout was rejoiced to see his son so happy with such a beautiful wife. Ali Bey's sister and nephew

* The Apartments of the women.

were then presented to the princess, who received her husband's relations with every mark of respect and affection. The ceremony being over, Ali Bey left them, and went to the Divan, where he received congratulations from the other Beys, and the Janizar Aga. The Pasha himself sent his Kiahaya with his congratulations, and requested to see Daout, who was soon after introduced to the Pasha, and received with great respect, as the father of the Sheik Bellet.

After a residence of seven months, Daout left Cairo, notwithstanding the many intreaties of his son to stay longer. He departed loaded with presents; a ship was ordered to convey him to Constantinople, and an order sent to the Capi Kiahaya, for Ali Bey's agent there, to see him safe to Abazia: but before Daout's departure, Ali Bey prevailed on him to consent to the marriage of his sister Yahud, to his adopted son Abudahap;

dahap; and to leave Ali Bey's nephew, then sixteen years old, with him. This nephew was enrolled in the list of Mamluks, and in the year 1768, was honoured with the dignity of Cashiph.

Hitherto Ali Bey appears to have been happy and prosperous, and it might have been expected, that the favours heaped on Mahammed Bey Abudahap, would have produced affection; but he joined the little party of the late Ibrahim Cerkes, and secretly plotted to take away the life of his benefactor.

The main causes of this design were, a spirit of revenge in the friends of Ibrahim Cerkes, and the jealousy of the other Sangiaks, on seeing Ali Bey become so powerful. They found he was too strong to be openly attacked, and therefore attempted to inflame the jealousy of the Porte against him, that he might be cut off; but before they could

bring the Pasha of Mafr to aid their wishes, knowing that Abudahap loved money more than gratitude to his benevolent master, and brother in law, they gave him largesums of money to assassinate his benefactor, and engaged that he should be chosen Sheik Bellet on Ali Bey's death.

But Mohammed Bey Abudahap acted a treacherous part, taking the money, and immediately made Ali Bey acquainted with the whole transaction. This was not the effect of honesty, but of art, for he thereby secured a continuance of Ali Bey's interest, till he could accomplish his purpose. The Sheik Bellet, instead of increasing his caution, laughed at the design, and looked upon Abudahap as his faithful friend and servant, and from that moment would not give credit to any report against him.

Secure of this, Abudahap offered two hundred purses to Tantavi to kill Ali Bey,

Bey, when he went to play with him at chess ; and to accomplish this purpose, ordered his wife, the sister of Ali Bey, to put poison into his coffee, the first time he came to visit her. Tantavi immediately acquainted Ali Bey of Abudahap's treachery, but was not believed. His sister also sent to him, to desire he would desist from visiting her, but he was surprized at receiving such a message, and went to her directly to inquire the cause, when she confessed the orders she had received from her husband ; but Ali Bey was so blinded by his love for the treacherous Abudahap, that he disbelieved her also.

Ali Bey, unfortunate in his favourites, had taken a strong affection for Maalim Risk, a Copt,* and made

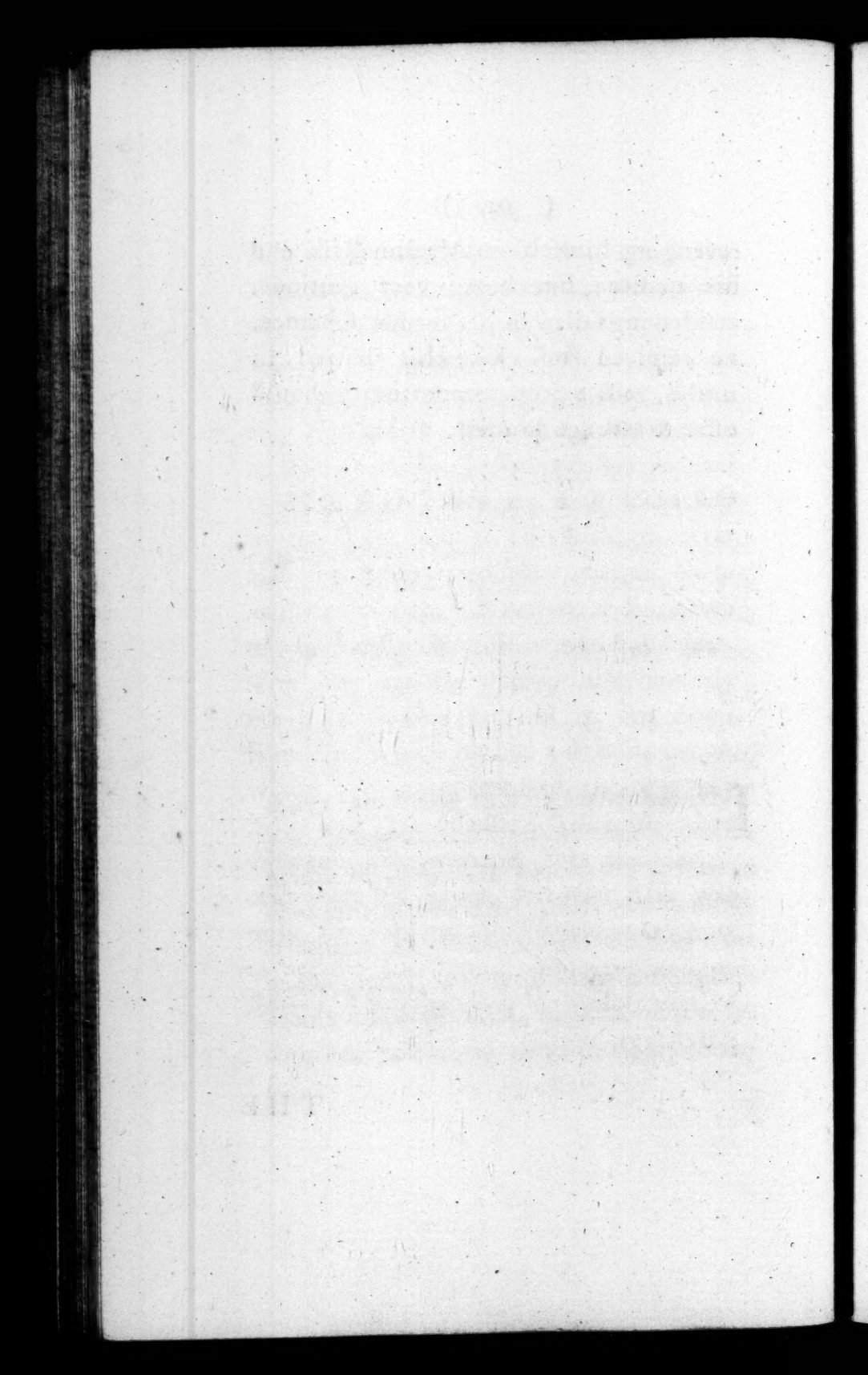
* The Copts are Christians of the sect of Monothelites, and are employed by the Beys as their writers, as they are generally well versed in the Arabian Orthography.

him

him his secretary for the Arabian affairs; this man, by his hypocrisy, had gained the confidence of Ali Bey, and no favour was to be procured from him, but through the means of Maalim Risk; this induced the Beys to pay their court to him, and this puffed up his natural pride to such a degree, that when any of the Beys went to visit him, he never rose from his seat, but received them as private men. None were so much offended at this haughtiness as Abudahap, who was equally proud, and severely stung at finding a rival in Ali Bey's favour, of which he had a striking proof, when having represented the haughty behaviour of Maalim Risk, Ali Bey answered him warmly, that the Sangiacks were his slaves, but that Risk was only his servant, and knew well how to behave to them. This reply confirmed Abudahap in his resolution of
 revenging

revenging himself on Maalim Risk and his master; but being very cautious, and having failed in his former schemes, he resolved to cloke his hatred in smiles, till a proper opportunity should offer to avenge himself.

THE



S E C T. III.

CONTAINING THE

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS

O F

A L I B E Y ' s

R E V O L T.

IN the latter end of the year 1768, the Grand Signior had declared war against Russia, and Ali Bey, as Sheik Bellet, was raising the twelve thousand men which the republic of Egypt is obliged to furnish to the Porte, when at war. Maalim Risk thought this a good opportunity to get rid of the presence

fence of Mohammed Bey Abudahap, and advised Ali Bey to put him at the head of these troops; at the same time Ali Bey's enemies thought it also a very fit opportunity to execute their designs against him, and increase the jealousy they had hitherto sought to excite in the breasts of the Ottoman governors, against the Sheik Bellet. They therefore, by great presents, prevailed on the Pasha of Mafr, to write a complaint to the Porte, that Ali Bey was raising these twelve thousand men, not with a design to assist the Grand Signior, but to join the Russians against him; this letter was signed by all the Sangiacks who were inimical to Ali Bey, so that when it arrived at Constantinople, the Emperor took it not only as the complaint of his Pasha, but as of the republic also, and sent an order immediately to the Pasha, to send Ali Bey's head to Constantinople.

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This matter however escaped not the vigilance of Ali Bey's agent at the Porte, who directly dispatched two messengers, one by sea, and the other by land, to carry this important intelligence. The former arrived first, and Ali Bey, conscious that he had neither done, nor designed aught against the Grand Signior, could scarce believe the truth of the message; but the other messenger arriving three days afterwards, put him on his guard, and made him resolve to know how far he had occasion to fear.

Thus resolved, he sent for Ali Bey Tantavi, on whose fidelity he could entirely rely. He ordered him to take twelve of his attendants with him, and to wait a few miles distant on the high road to the city, in the dress of Arabs, to see if the Capigi Pasha^r was coming

^r The chief of the Porters, who is generally the messenger extraordinary of the Sultan.

to Cairo ; if they saw him they were ordered to seize him, and his men, and examine their papers, and if they found therein any orders against him, to kill them all, and bring the dispatches to him.

Tantavi fulfilled these orders punctually ; he waited about twenty miles from Cairo, and on the third day after the arrival of the last messenger, he beheld the Capigi Pasha approach, attended by four men, whom they seized and bound, and on examination of their papers, the fatal order was found signed in due form ; on this Tantavi ordered his men to slay them, which was immediately done, and the five bodies were buried in the sand.

Tantavi soon arrived in Cairo, and put the dispatches into Ali Bey's hands, who had no sooner read them, but he summoned an extraordinary Divan.
There

There he produced the order from the Porte, to send his head to Constantinople, and assured them, that if he fell a sacrifice to the ambition of his enemies, and the tyranny of the Sultan, they must expect a like fate hereafter. But if they would defend themselves, their rights and liberties, he could find means to humble the pride and tyranny of the Porte. He reminded them that the kingdom of Egypt belonged to them, and not to the Grand Signior; and if they desired to free themselves from his tyrannical power, the time was most apt and convenient; for as the Sultan would have enough to do against the Russians, they could not hope a better opportunity to regain their antient rights and liberties.

The Divan felt the force of his reasoning; those of the Beys, (eighteen of whom owed their rank to Ali Bey) who were his friends, immediately agreed

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with

with him, and even those who were secretly his enemies, and had signed the letter against him, were over-awed, and found themselves too weak to oppose. Nay, though they had an enmity against Ali Bey, they could not resist a desire to be free, and the whole Divan unanimously resolved to defend their rights, and assist Ali to the utmost of their power.

This resolution being taken, an order was sent from the Divan to the Pasha, to quit Egypt in twenty-four hours, or his life would pay for the delay. A messenger was dispatched to Sheik Omar Daher, prince of St. John d'Acre, to acquaint him with this resolution, and what had obliged Ali Bey to take these steps, and to intreat him to join his strength and interest with his. Sheik Daher agreed to join them, and prepared for war. In the mean time Ali Bey was not idle. As soon as
the

the Pasha was departed, he joined all his own troops to the twelve thousand he was preparing to send to the Sultan ; he was assisted by the troops of the different Sangiaks, and in a few months was in a good condition of defence.

The Ottoman Porte being early apprized of this revolt, ordered the Pasha of Sham (or Damascus) to march with all the troops he could raise, to prevent Sheik Daher from joining Ali Bey. Sheik Daher was ready to receive him. The Sheik had seven sons, each of whom had well fortified castles, and Ali Bey had sent him plenty of ammunition of all kinds, and provisions by sea. The Pasha of Sham found himself much harrassed in his march by Sheik Ali, the second son of Daher ; and when he got near the sea of Tiberias, he found Sheik Daher encamped there. When the Sheik beheld the enemy near enough, he deferred an engagement till the next

G 2

morning ;

morning ; and during the night divided his army into three bodies, one of three thousand men to the east, upon the hills of Gadera, under the command of Sheik Sleby ; a second of three thousand men also on the west, towards Mount Libanus, commanded by Sheik Crime, his son in law. The third, or main body, under himself, crossed the sea of Tiberias, to the south, towards Galilee, leaving the camp with great fires, all sorts of provisions, and a large quantity of spirituous liquors, giving strict orders not to hinder the enemy from taking possession of the camp, but to come down and attack them just before dawn of day.

In the middle of the night the Pasha of Sham thought to surprize Sheik Daher, and marched in silence to the camp, which, to his great astonishment, he found entirely abandoned ; and thought the Sheik had fled with so much

much precipitation, that he could not carry off the baggage and stores. The Pasha thought proper to stop in the camp to refresh his soldiers. They soon fell to plundering, and drank so freely of the liquors, that overcome with the fatigue of the day's march, and the fumes of the spirits, they were not long ere they were in a sound sleep. At that time Sheik Sleby and Sheik Crime, who were watching the enemy, came silently to the camp; and Sheik Daher having repassed the sea of Tiberias, meeting them, they all rushed into the camp, and fell on the confused and sleeping enemy, eight thousand of whom they slew on the spot; and the Pasha, with the remainder of his troops, fled with much difficulty to Sham, leaving all their baggage behind. He had come with twenty-five thousand men, and those of Sheik Daher scarcely exceeded nine thousand. The spoil was divided among the conquerors, and then

the army parted ; one division going to join the Motevely's, or lords, of Mount Libanus ; the second to subdue Galilee, and the third returned to St. John d'Acre.

During this event, and in the year 1770, Ali Bey sent Mohammed Bey Abudahap, at the head of twenty-six thousand men, to conquer Arabia Felix ; and Ishmael Bey, with seven thousand, to subdue the western coast of the Red Sea.

In the mean time Ali Bey remained in Mafr, to regulate the domestic affairs. Many abuses had crept into the collection of the customs, which bore hard on the European merchants ; those he removed, put to death one of the commissioners, a Jew, named Joseph Levy, who had shamefully imposed on the traders, and put Maalim Michael Pharha,² a

² Maalim is an appellation of honour, signifying master or doctor.

Christian of the Greek church, in their place. He even sent directions to Abudahap, and Ishmael Bey, that whatever maritime towns they might subdue, they should leave strict orders with the governors, to receive all European ships with the greatest kindness, and assure their commanders, that they should be protected in their commerce in the Red Sea, in every part of which they might freely traffick. He also (by the advice of Risk, who had been bribed by an Italian, named Rosetti) sent to offer his friendship to the republic of Venice. He cleared the country from robbers, which procured him from the people the surname of Bulut-capan,* and in short, every one was surprised to see a barbarous nation so much civilized in so short a space of time.

Whilst Ali Bey was thus providing for internal peace and safety, his gene-

* Cloud catcher.

als were extending their conquests. In less than six months, Abudahap conquered all Arabia Felix, and dethroned the Emir of Mecca (a descendant of Mohammed) and put another of the line in his place, named Emir Abdallah, who ascended the throne as Sheriff of Kiabé, and Medina: in return for which favour, the Sheriff gave to Ali Bey the title of Sultan of Egypt, and the two seas.

During these transactions, Ishmael Bey was as successful on his part; he subdued all the provinces as far as Jita, establishing governors, and leaving garrisons in each place; and then these triumphant generals returned to Mafr, where Ali Bey received them with every possible mark of joy and respect.

In the beginning of the year 1771, Ali Bey prepared an army of forty thousand men, and gave the command
of

of it to Abudahap, who set out with this formidable force from Mafr, on the third of March. He had orders to subdue all Palestine, before he proceeded to Syria, and to treat the inhabitants of every town, which should either receive him willingly, or surrender at discretion, with the greatest lenity and humanity, and protect them from the rage of the soldiery; particularly the Zummies.* He had also express directions to take especial care in marching through the territories of his faithful ally Sheik Daher, and his sons, (to whom he recommended Abudahap) not to commit any disorder, or give the slightest offence.

Whilst Abudahap was gone on this expedition, Ali Bey was advised to seek an alliance with the Russians, who were then masters of all the Archipelago, and the Sporades Islands. He accord-

* Tributary Christians and Jews.

ingly

ingly wrote to Count Alexis Orlow, the commander in chief of the Russian forces, expressing his desire to enter into a treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance with her Imperial Majesty, and conjointly fight the common enemy, offering to supply Count Orlow with every kind of provisions for his fleet and army; and with money, if wanted.

This express was sent by Jacob, an Armenian, who went first to the Island of Paros;^b but not finding the general there, he followed him to Leghorn, and delivered his dispatches. Count Orlow soon returned an answer, wherein, after compliments and congratulations to Ali Bey, he told him that he would immediately transmit his letter to the Empress, and would do all in his power to comply with his offers.

^b Paros is one of the largest of the islands of Archipelago. Lat. 36 56. East—Lon. 25 36, noted for producing the finest marble.

That

That he would not at present trouble him for either provisions or money, but if he found himself in any kind of necessity for either, he would not fail to apply for the proffered assistance. This letter was sent by Gregory, a Greek Christian, native of Constantinople, a man well versed in the ancient Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Turkish languages; but he brought it no farther than Alexandria, where he died, and the express was brought forward by another hand.

Ali Bey continued to encourage the home and foreign merchants, and make every thing agreeable to them. He gave express orders to the Janizaries, to protect all foreigners and Christians from any insults from the Mussulmen, which if they failed to do, they were to be severely punished: having for that express purpose raised two natives of Georgia to the dignities of Aga, and Kiahaya.

Kiahaya. The first was Selim Aga, a man of great courage, and an affable disposition; the other was Suliman Aga, of equal bravery, but rather ignorant, and bigotted to the Mahometan religion. By these wise regulations, commerce flourished in Egypt, and domestic affairs seemed to be in a most prosperous condition.

As soon as Abudahap had quitted Mafr, Ali Bey sent six ships laden with provisions, and all kinds of warlike stores, to St. John d'Acre, to be ready for the use of the army. Abudahap, who had begun his route on the fourth of March, 1771, arrived on the ninth before Gaza,* and the day after summoned the garrison to surrender the town, which being refused, he took it by storm in three days; Mustapha Aga, the governor, and most of the garrison, having made their escape in the night,

* Gaza, a town of Palestine, about six miles from the coast of the Mediterranean.

before

before it was taken. He staid there till the 26th, and then, having left a governor, and a sufficient garrison, he marched to Rama,^d and on the 31st summoned the governor; but Hassan Aga sent for answer, that he would defend the town to the last drop of his blood. On this Abudahap stormed Rama, but was so resolutely opposed by Hassan, that he was forced to retreat with the loss of one hundred and sixty men. He then encircled the town with his troops in such a manner, that no supplies of provisions could enter the place, and kept it thus blockaded till the 20th of April; when Hassan having found means to elude his vigilance, and escape in disguise in the night towards Jerusalem, the town surrendered the next day at discretion. Abudahap staid there till the latter end of May; when

^d Another town of Palestine, tributary to the Grand Signior.

having

having settled every thing necessary for the safety of the place, he proceeded to Naplouse,* which he took, by starving the besieged; and from thence sent his summons to Mustapha, the governor of Jerusalem, to surrender that city. The governor, together with the Mollah of the Mahometans, and the Christian vicars of the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Armenian patriarch, sent to intreat Abudahap, first to bend his arms against the city of Sham (or Damascus) under the jurisdiction of whose Pasha, Jerusalem was, and promising, if he took that place, Jerusalem should be surrendered. This message was accompanied with a deputation of Christian priests from the patriarch, carrying some rich presents. Abudahap finding his avarice gratified by these gifts, and his pride flattered by

* Naplouse, or Neapolis, formerly known by the name of Sichem, where the Samaritans had their chief temple, now the residence of a Sangiak, dependent on the Pasha of Scham.

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the politeness of the message ; and besides, having no orders to storm the holy city, or fire against its walls, he entertained the priests with great affability, and granted their request.

Having settled every thing at Naplouse, he marched to Joffa,^f which held out against him for two months, and then capitulated.

In the month of September, Abudahap moved towards Cælo-Syria, and crossing Mount Carmel, encamped in the plains of Ptolmais.^g Being arrived there, Sheik Slebi and Sheik Crime came from their father Sheik Daher, with a present of furs, and other valuable articles, to congratulate Abudahap

^f The antient Joppa, a sea port between Cesarea and Ascalon, fifty miles west from Jerusalem, Lat. 32 26 East. Lon. 36. It stands on a rocky hill, defended from the sea by a chain of rocks, which forms an harbour for small vessels, and surrounded landward with a stone wall.

^g At present St. John d'Acre.

on his successes, and safe arrival. They were received with much outward politeness, but the haughty general found his pride piqued, at not receiving a visit from Sheik Daher himself, which he resented so much, that he would not vouchsafe to visit the old ally, and firm friend of his master, but sent his Kiahaya to return the visit and the compliments. The old Sheik perceived the slight, but nobly scorned to take notice of it, attributing it to his youth and pride. About the latter end of September, Abudahap left Ptolmais, and crossing a branch of Mount Libanus, went to Saïd,^a which surrendered to him on the first summons, and having placed a garrison therein, he proceeded in the middle of October to Sham, (or Damascus) which he besieged from the 24th of that month, till the latter end of November, when the

^a The antient Sidon, Lat. 33 35 East.—Lon. 36 15.
a famous port on the Levant, seventy miles south of Tripoly, and as many north from Jerusalem.

Pasha finding the city no longer tenable, retreated in the night to Halep,¹ and the half starved inhabitants opened their gates to the conqueror, and submitted to his mercy. He did not, indeed, show any cruelty to the people, and restrained his troops from plunder, bending his arms against the citadel, which held out a week longer, till the governor being assassinated by his troops, Abudahap was admitted therein.

Abudahap staid in Sham upwards of six weeks, during which time, his rapid successes inspired him with a design of continuing his conquests for himself. His avarice and ambition prompted him to forget all his obligations to his beneficent master, to whom he owed every thing, and to resolve to bring all Egypt under his own dominion. To accom-

¹ Or Aleppo, the capital of that government, seventy miles east from the sea, Lat. 36 30 east.—Lon. 37.

plish this end, he took his whole army with him, when he left Sham, and marching back through the places he had conquered, increased his forces by taking out all the troops he had left in the garrisons.

But although his designs were against Ali Bey, yet he did not march at first towards Mafr, knowing he was hated by the Janizaries; but directing his course by the deserts, between the Red Sea and Egypt, he came into Upper Egypt, where on the 1st of march, 1772, he took possession of the capital, and summoned all the Sangiaks either to join him, or quit the country. They finding themselves unable to resist his numerous and powerful army, already flushed with repeated conquests, submitted to him, and joined him with all their respective forces.

Abudahap

Abudahap finding his strength sufficient to attempt any thing, threw off the mask, and openly declared his intentions of destroying Ali Bey, and marching into Lower Egypt, encamped opposite to Old Cairo, on the 9th of April. Ali Bey alarmed at the sudden arrival of Abudahap, too plainly saw his base intentions, and blamed himself that he had shut his ears against the intimations he had of his ingratitude. He found it was necessary to prevent Abudahap crossing the Nile, if he would preserve Mafr; for that purpose he raised an army of twenty thousand, the command of which he gave to Ishmael Bey, with orders to dispute the passage of the river: but as soon as Ishmael arrived there, Abudahap sent a message to him, that if he opposed him, he would put him to death if he conquered, which he doubted not to do, as his troops had a great superiority in numbers; but if, on the other hand, he

would join him, he should be his partner in the government, and in all his dignities. Ishmael did not long hesitate: he thought it was better to side with the strongest party, and enjoy a share of power, than to lose his property and his life, and therefore, on the 8th of April, he marched his troops into Abudahap's camp, where they were received with great joy.

The news of this junction had no sooner reached the ears of Ali Bey, than he retired into the castle of Mafr, taking with him all his money and jewels, and those friends on whom he could depend, resolving to defend himself against his ungrateful brother-in-law. But on the third day after he had entered the castle, Sheik Achmet, the fourth son of Sheik Daher, then on a visit to Ali Bey, advised him to quit the castle, and fly to Palestine, where he was sure his father would receive him with open arms,
and

and would be happy to obey his commands. He urged, that by this step, means might be found to regain his kingdom ; whereas, if he remained in the castle, the enemy would soon prevent any succours coming to him, and then he would be forced either to lose his life, or submit to the mercy of his slaves. Ali Bey yielded to the reasonableness of this proposal, and resolved to quit the castle and city the same night, before Abudahap had got possession of the town, and was thereby become able to prevent it.

Ali Bey accordingly ordered his baggage to be got ready directly, sent to those Sangiaks who might be willing to join him, and gave the command of what troops he had remaining, to his faithful Ali Bey Tantavi. He sent also to Maalim Risk, to bring in all the money arising from the revenues, he had in his hands, but Risk was not to be found. He

likewise dispatched Jacob, the Armenian, to the Island of Paros, to acquaint Count Orlow, the Russian General, with his situation, and to beg his assistance, and then departed from Mafr with all the nobles, and those of his household who were faithful to him.* The number of troops that accompanied him, did not exceed, both horse and foot,

* The Beys who followed the fortune of Ali Bey, in his retreat, were these.

Ali Bey Tantavi. Rofvan Bey, Ali Bey's nephew. Hallil Bey. Morat Bey, Abdourahman Bey. Latiff Bey. Mustapha Bey. Ibrahim Bey, (the Circassian). Zulficar Bey. Achip Bey. Osman Bey. Selim Aga, of the Janizaries, and Suleiman, Kiahaya of the Janizaries.

The officers of Ali Bey's household were these.

Yufuph Hafnadar Aga (or treasurer) a Georgian. Rufvan Chiouhadar Aga, (or keeper of the wardrobe) a Georgian. Othman Selihtar Aga (or sword-bearer) an Abazian, and nephew to Abudahap. Osman Aga, Sarikchee Pashee (or turban bearer) a Georgian. Yufuph, Chiupukchee Pashee (or keeper of the pipes and tobacco) a Georgian. Husein Aga, Imbrikchee Pashee (or keeper of the ewers, basons, and towels) a Circassian. Abdourahman Aga, Salaher (or master of the horse) a Si-nopian.

seven

seven thousand men. His treasury and wardrobe were loaded on twenty-six dromedaries. His ready cash consisted of eight hundred thousand mahbub and funduclys; the rest of his treasure was in jewels, to the amount of about six million of ducats.

It was in the evening of the 12th of April, 1772, that Ali Bey left Mafr, and begun his march, which he pursued day and night, lest he should be pursued by Abudahap, and got to Haniounus,¹ on the 15th, but in that short march, he had the misfortune to have five of his dromedaries (one of them laden with money, and the rest with his wardrobe) cut off by the Arabs. On the 16th he proceeded to Gaza,^m but did not stop there, as that town was in the hands of the enemy, and arrived on

¹ A small town on the Isthmus of Suez, on the Mediterranean Shore.

^m Distance eighteen miles.

the 23d at Ptolmais, where he encamped near Caifa, on the plains under Mount Carmel.

The fatigue of his journey, the agitation of his mind, and his strong sense of Abudahap's ingratitude, had such an effect on Ali Bey, that as soon as he had encamped, he fell into a violent fever. Sheik Daher immediately went to him, and offered him every assistance in his power, requesting he would come and reside in his palace, which Ali Bey declining, the worthy Sheik sent him his best physicians, by whose aid Ali Bey recovered in about three weeks.

The inhabitants of Barut, (or Berytus) who are mostly Greek Christians, having been greatly dissatisfied with their government, had written to the Russian general to relieve them from their bondage. A squadron of Russian ships came off that city the latter end of April, 1772, and

and took and plundered it. They then put Emir Mahamut (a man much esteemed by the Christians) as governor, with orders to pay a certain annual tribute. This business being effected, the squadron passed by Acre, stopped to pay the compliments of Count Orlow to Sheik Daher, and know if he had any message to return. The Russians did not then know that Ali Bey had been forced to quit Egypt, and were surprized to hear of that event from Sheik Daher. However, the chief officers (of whom were Chevalier George Rizo, a native of Salonica,^a and adjutant to Count Orlow, and Chevalier Constantine Psaro, a native of the island of Meconos,^o together with Joseph, a Georgian, and a favourite domestic of

^a Salonichi, the antient Theffalonica, a port of Turkey, in the Archipelago. Lat. 41 East.—Lon. 23 13.

^o Meconos, or Mycone, an Island in the Archipelago, Lat. 37 28 E.—Lon. 25 51.

the

the Russian general) went to pay their respects to Ali Bey, in his camp. He entertained them with great affability for some days, and at their departure made them several valuable presents, sending with them Zulficar Bey, one of his Sangiaks, a man of a very pleasing carriage, as his ambassador, to the Count. To him he sent three of his best horses, and the dromedary he was used to ride, with all their sumptuous trappings. In his dispatches to Count Orlov, he requested he would send him some artillery and ammunition, as the precipitation with which he was obliged to leave Mafr, did not permit him to bring any, and desired he would spare him two or three thousand of the Albanians, who were then in the Russian service ; as he did not doubt, with this assistance, and the troops of Sheik Daher, but he would be able to re-enter Egypt. The Russian squadron, with Ali Bey's ambassador, in a xebeque, departed from
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Acre the 18th of May, to join Count Orlow at the island of Paros.

In expectation of an answer from Count Orlow, and his health being now restored, Ali Bey ordered Tantavi to take half his troops, and join those of Sheik Daher, and go to Saïd, or Sidon, and endeavour to reduce that place. Tantavi having received his orders from his master, he joined Sheik Sleby, and Sheik Crime, who were before ready with their troops, to follow him. They therefore began their march in the middle of June, 1772, and crossing the Antilibanus, arrived at Soor, or Tyrus, the 17th, where the mutevele, which is equivalent to the word baron, of the place, Sheik Haffan, received them with the greatest friendship, proffered his services, and told them, if they wanted more men, he should take with him all his troops, which consisted of two hundred horse, and about four hundred foot.

foot. Tantavi thanked him for his offer of the troops, but declared how acceptable his company would be to him, if he could agree to join with him. They therefore, after refreshing themselves and their troops, moved towards Sidon, which is about eighteen miles distant, by land. But Hassan Pasha, of two tails, who was governor of the place after Abudahap had evacuated it, thinking himself superior in force, and being therefore unwilling to submit to be besieged, sallied out from the city to meet the army of Tantavi and his confederates. Hassan Pasha's force was about thirteen thousand; Tantavi's, together with Sheik Daher's, amounted in the whole to about six thousand, mostly horse. The two armies met on the 27th of June, about nine in the morning, and the engagement was over about eleven. It ended in the total rout of Hassan Pasha, who after having lost between four and five thousand men,

was

was put to flight with the remainder of his army. On Tantavi's side about two hundred were slain, besides two Cashifs, and Osman Bey wounded. He entered Sidon the next day in triumph, and took possession of the castles and the town in the name of his master, and after residing there a fortnight, Tantavi left a garrison in Sidon, with Hassan Bey as governor, and then, with his army, came back to Acké, and from thence to the camp near Caïpha. On the 29th of July, Ali Bey having re-established his health, and being in a state to co-operate with his army, applied to Sheik Daher for assistance in artillery and ammunition, to subdue Joppa, or Jopha. Daher not only complied with his request, but even offered himself and his sons to accompany the army, which offer Ali Bey accepted with thanks.

I forgot to mention, that while Ali Bey was indisposed, and Tantavi absent,
some

some of his troops found means to desert, and went into Egypt. His Hafnadar, Joseph, growing tired of Mahometism, and having fallen in with some Christians, and from their conversation, reflecting on his former religion with grief and fondness, resolved to set himself free; and having seven thousand ducats of his own money in his possession, by the assistance of an intimate friend he procured a boat, and made his escape into Cyprus.

Dahar loaded two ships with provision and ammunition, to proceed by sea, and two other transports to carry some of Ali Bey's troops, and having prepared all things necessary, Ali Bey began his march by land the 12th of August, and crossing Mount Carmel, came on the 16th near Joppa, and pitched his camp by a brook, at the distance of about a mile and a quarter to the north east of the town. The ships with the troops, provisions,

provisions, ammunition, &c. arrived before, and anchored in a creek about six miles to the north of Joppa, and having there discharged their loadings, camels were immediately provided, and next day most of the necessaries arrived in the camp. On the 17th Ali Bey sent a summons to Mustapha Bey, brother to Hassan Pasha, of Naplouse, who was governor of the town, to surrender it. But Mustapha Bey having before-hand provided troops and provisions, did not chuse to obey this summons; upon which Ali Bey ordered the Sangiaks to draw a line round the town, and every one of them to take two hundred men for their posts.

Halil Bey, and Latiph Bey, were posted on the north east, at the distance of two hundred yards: Addourahman Bey, and Morat Bey, were on the east, with Mustapha Bey, and Akip Bey on the south. The siege was carried on, and
a battery

a battery raised against the east gate, on which were mounted two iron twelve pounders. Abdourahman Aga, a native of Trebezonde, who had acquired some skill in artillery, had the charge of these cannon, which were served by some Greeks. He also made another battery, of one brass piece of sixteen pound ball, and a sixteen inch mortar; with these he did great mischief to the houses of the town, though he had no other means than a plumb line to measure the elevation of the mortar. After a siege of fourteen days, Ali Bey ordered a general assault to be made, but he was bravely opposed, and forced to quit the storm, with the loss of above sixty killed and wounded.

Ali Bey held the town of Joppa still closely besieged on the land side, but sent off a strong detachment, under Tantavi, of his own, and Sheik Daher's troops, to attack Gaza, which he took
in.

in about a fortnight, and then the inhabitants of Rama and Lidda sent deputies to put themselves under Ali Bey's protection, and offered to receive his governors. Hassan Bey was therefore sent to command in Lidda, and Selim Aga to govern Rama, and then the detachment returned to Joppa.

Although Joppa was closely begirt by land, yet the besieged had the port open, by which they sometimes received succours from Egypt. At length however their provisions began to grow short, and they had no wood left for firing. They sent a petition to Mustapha Bey, to spare their lives, houses, and fine gardens, which were planted without Joppa, the most pleasant perhaps in that part of the world, but he refused their request. The wretched inhabitants were then forced to grind rice with hand mills, to make bread, having scarce any other subsistence left; and they stole out in the night to cut

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down the fine orange and lemon trees, for the sake of the wood to bake their bread. Ali Bey had at first ordered his soldiers to spare those trees, and content themselves with eating the fruit; but when he saw the besieged make that use of them, he then had the whole cut down, and destroyed those beautiful and valuable plantations to deprive the besieged of the fire wood; which greatly increased their misery.

The siege had continued one month, when on the 17th of September, Sulficar Bey, who had been sent to Count Orlow, returned, in a Russian transport, under English colours, commanded by a captain Brown. In this ship came also Jacob, the Armenian, who had been sent to the Count before Ali Bey left Mafr, and two Russian officers, with a letter from their general, and some presents. The transport put into a small harbour, named Abu Daout, and Sulficar Bey dispatched a messenger to

to Ali Bey, to inform him of his arrival ; camels and horses were immediately sent to bring the officers and baggage to the camp. Sulficar Bey first went to Ali Bey with the Russian general's letter, and acquainted him that the officers were without ; they were immediately admitted, introduced by Sulficar Bey, and had the honour to kiss Ali Bey's hand. The letter from Count Orlov, written on one side in Russian characters, and on the other in Italian, was then read and interpreted to Ali Bey, in the Turkish language ; it contained many promises of speedy assistance, in which Ali Bey then confided ; but alas, they were never fulfilled, and the two Russian officers, who were M. Clinglinoff, a captain of horse, and lieutenant Sergey Pleschoff, were the only assistance that ever arrived, and these were merely sent to examine the strength of Ali Bey. The presents consisted of eight pieces of silk, flowered with gold and silver, of the manufac-

ture of the island of Cio ; three brass field pieces, of four-pound ball ; seven barrels of fine gun-powder, five hundred shot, and three carriages for the cannon, of a new construction.

After the Russian officers had had an audience of Ali Bey, they were then conducted to old Sheik Daher, who received them with the greatest affability, and treated them with coffee. A tent was pitched for these gentlemen, furnished with every thing necessary for their accommodation, and a cook and other servants.

Another battery was now raised to the south of Joppa, about one hundred yards from the walls, on which were mounted three twelve pounders. Captain Clinglinoff requested to have the command of it, and with the assistance of his servant Jacob, of Norway, did great damage to the town, and demolished a part of the walls. The day was
very

very hot, and captain Clinglinoff ceased the fire, to refresh himself after his fatigue, when, curious to see what hurt he had done, he was not contented to behold the falling of the battered walls, from the small holes in the intrenchment, but thrust his head out of the embrasures; whilst he was thus employed, he was seen by the besieged, one of whom pointed his gun so well, that the ball lodged in the captain's breast, who died in about an hour after. Lieutenant Pleschoff, and Jacob, took the body to the tent, and having first cut out the piece of his waistcoat, through which the ball had passed, they buried him near the tent, in his clothes and boots. This brave man, some days before he was killed, offered to go and burn the shipping that were in the harbour of Joppa, in the night. He accordingly prepared some combustibles, and went with lieutenant Pleschoff in a long boat, but the enemy fired so hotly on them, as to force them to desist.

The besieged also fired one day on the English flag, but captain Brown returned the compliment with a whole broadside.

Ali Bey was greatly chagrined at the death of captain Clinglinoff, which he wished to revenge. He requested captain Brown to lend him three of the ship's guns, six pounders, which were immediately sent on shore, and added to the north east battery of Halil Bey, and Latiph Bey; with these, such breaches were made in the wall, that Ali Bey resolved on another storm, which was attempted on the south part of the town, in the beginning of October, but with as little success as the former; Ali Bey's troops being repulsed, several of Ali Bey's own slaves being killed, and Ibrahim Bey, of Circassia, and several others wounded.

On the 22d of October, the Russian transport, with lieutenant Pleschoff, left Joppa,

Joppa, to return to Count Orlov ; with him there was sent a letter from Ali Bey to the Count, thanking him for his presents ; and another to the Empress of Russia, requesting her assistance. These were carried by Suleiman, Kiahaya of the Janizaries, for Sulficar Bey was dangerously ill ; indeed he died a few days after, universally regretted for his affability and gentleness ; he was the third Sangiak who had died during the siege ; the others being Achmet Bey, who was wounded in the expedition against Sidon, and Ibrahim Bey of Circassia, wounded mortally in the second assault.

In the month of November, whilst Suleiman Kiahaya was on his journey, a Russian squadron came a second time to Barut (or Berytus) to enforce the payment of the tribute that had been agreed upon at the former surrender of the place. Having settled that business, the squadron came, in the middle of

December, before Joppa. Some of the officers paid a visit to Ali Bey in his camp; one of whom, Chevalier Panagioti Alexiano, brought letters from Count Orlov, for Ali Bey; and from Chevalier Rizo, for Sulficar Bey. The Count's letter contained nothing material, but compliments and assurances of friendship and assistance against the common enemy. The squadron bombarded Joppa for two days, but with no effect; and the commander having no orders to co-operate with Ali Bey, and the road being unsafe for shipping, if bad weather should come on, they departed.

When they were gone, Sheik Daher fitted out an half galley, and a small ship, to watch the harbour of Joppa, and prevent the arrival of any supplies; but a vessel of twenty-five tons eluded their vigilance, and got in with a small cargo of rice and biscuit. With this assistance they held out a short time longer, but famine at length obliged them

them to capitulate, which they did on the 31st of January. Haffan Bey, the governor, with his troops and baggage, marched out in the night, by the sea shore, and went to his brother at Naplouse; and Ali Bey and Sheik Daher entered the town on the 1st of February.

Ali Bey staid in Joppa till the 22d of February, when Suleiman Kiahaya being returned from Count Orlow, he gave up the town to Sheik Daher, and quitted it on the 26th.

Whilst the siege of Joppa was carrying on, and in the month of November, Maalim Risk, prime minister for the Arabian affairs to Ali Bey, (who was not to be found when Ali Bey was compelled to quit Masr,) came into the camp, to the surprize of every one, in a most miserable condition. He had on a coarse dirty shirt, girt with a leathern girdle; several strings of large beads hanging

hanging down to his breast; his hair cut short and curled, like that of the Abyssinians; without any cap, and his feet bare; in short, in the dress of a Mahomedan hermit; his skin was brown, and his person meagre as a ghost. When Ali Bey was first informed of his arrival, he could scarce credit the report. He ordered him to be brought before him, and then could not avoid laughing at his grotesque figure. After asking him a few questions, Ali Bey bid him retire to take some rest, and bid his Hasnadar to give him proper clothes. All who were attached to Ali Bey, and recollected that Maalim Risk was once his favourite, hastened to give him presents of necessities. I also gave him a silver watch, with six china coffee cups, and six silver fillagree cups to hold them (as saucers are not used in that country) two coffee pots, and a chest to hold his clothes, with some other trifling articles. Thus Maalim Risk was soon furnished like a gentleman,

gentleman, and enabled to appear abroad as such. It has been since known, that when Ali Bey quitted Mafr, and sent to Maalim to bring what money he had in his hands, that treacherous wretch buried the treasure in the earth, and then disguised himself like an hermit, quitted Mafr, and wandered about in the deserts of Egypt, from April till November, when finding Ali Bey's affairs were in a promising situation, he came to his camp to try his hypocrisy anew.

The reason of Maalim Risk absenting himself, when Ali Bey sent for him, was, his being afraid of Abudahap, lest he should fall into his hands, as he knew very well that Abudahap would not spare his life. Ali Bey was sensible of it, and for this reason received him again, and re-established him in his former character, especially as Risk pretended to be an astrologer, and by this means had gained Ali Bey's patronage.

Whilst

Whilst Ali Bey was encamped before Joppa, he received another unexpected visit; this was from Sheik Abdallah Emir, of Mecca, who had been dispossessed of his dignity and government, after the flight of Ali Bey from Masr, and forced to deliver both to Emir Mohammed, by the order of Abudahap, as being the will of the Grand Signior. With this he complied, being unable to resist Abudahap, and quitting the scherrifship, came to Ali Bey's camp. He was received as a holy prince, with great devotion and respect, and staid a fortnight, after which he went with his retinue to Medina. He was about five feet eight inches high, rather lusty, of a dark complexion, black eyes, and a long black beard,

As it may seem strange to some readers, that Ali Bey should deliver Joppa to Sheik Daher, after he had been at such pains to take it, it may be necessary

cessary to give the reason for that measure.

When Ali Bey came to Acre, and desired the assistance of Sheik Daher, he entered into a treaty with him, by which he agreed to pay Sheik Daher one hundred sequins, (fifty-seven pounds, ten shillings English) per day, for his auxiliary troops, which money Ali Bey not being able to pay the arrears, he put Joppa, Rama, Lidda, Azotus, Gaza, and Hanneunus, in the Sheik's hands, as pledges for the payment: and Sheik Daher was to surround Joppa with a new wall, the foundation of which was laid, and some progress made before the departure of Ali Bey.

During the stay Ali Bey made in Joppa, about the latter end of February, 1773, Maximilian Bongarde, a native of Germany, in the service of Russia, was sent by the Russian general to examine

examine the harbour of Alexandria: he put into Joppa by distress of weather, and being willing to see Ali Bey, I presented him to that prince, who received him with great affability, asking him many questions relative to his undertaking, and recommended him to the abbot of the Greek convent, during his stay. In a few days he went to Acre, where meeting with Count Giovanni Molinari, he went with him to Tyre, from whence he found an opportunity to return.

It was on the third of March, 1773, that Ali Bey left Joppa. He had received a message from the Janizaries of Mafir, and the principal inhabitants of that city. They being tired of the covetous and tyrannical government of Abudahap, assured Ali Bey, that if he would return to Mafir, they would open the gates to him, and in case of any resistance from Abudahap, they would
all

all arm as one to oppose him. Ali Bey accordingly marched with all his army, and Sheik Daher, Sheik Slebi, Sheik Crime, and the Sheik of Tyre, accompanied him towards Naplouse. It was at first his intention to reduce that town, but finding it well fortified, and that it would be difficult to transport artillery in that mountainous country, he returned towards Lidda, where he staid three days, ordering the inhabitants of all the villages to bring in their contributions, and all the barley that was ripe. He went next to Rama, where having in three days received all the contributions that could be got, he took the governors and garrisons of these towns with him, and proceeded to Azotus, raising the contributions there for two days, and arrived at Gaza the 21st of March: Sheik Daher having ordered all the provisions that could be procured at Joppa, with all the ammunition, to be sent by sea to Hanneunus (a small port town on the

the Isthmus of Suez, sixteen miles west of Gaza. Ali Bey marched towards Egypt from Gaza, on the 4th of April.

The whole of Ali Bey's force was as follows : two thousand cavalry, and two hundred and fifty Mamluks, with a few hired horse, under Tantavi, Abdourahman Bey, Morat Bey, Halil Bey, Latiph Bey, Mustapha Bey, Hassan Bey, Rosvan Bey, Osman Bey, Hassan Bey (who had been Cashiph of Sulficar Bey, and succeeded his master in the dignity) Selim Aga, and Suleiman Kiahaya of the Janizaries. The infantry were three thousand four hundred Magrepys (or western Africans). Sheik Daher had five hundred horse, headed by his eldest son Sheik Slebi, and his son in law, Sheik Crime, (Sheik Daher remaining at Gaza), and Hassan, Sheik of Tyre, had one hundred and sixty horse, so that the whole number was six thousand, three hundred and ten men, horse and foot.

On

On the evening of the 4th of April, the army arrived at Hanneunus, and after a halt till the 6th, proceeded to Salachia, (a town fourteen miles south west from Damiata, and six miles south of the lake Merotis), where Ali Bey arrived on the 9th of April. On the 11th the garrison of Salachia, which were the van of Abudahap's troops, sallied out, to the number of eleven thousand, to give battle to Ali Bey. The action lasted four hours, when, notwithstanding the inferiority of Ali Bey's forces, the enemy was put to flight, leaving behind them three hundred and sixty killed and mortally wounded, with the loss of only one hundred and sixty killed and wounded on Ali Bey's side, and Tantavi took possession of the town. Ali Bey then learnt, that when Abudahap heard the Janizaries and inhabitants of Masr had sent to invite Ali Bey to return, he assembled the principal people

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of the city, and spoke to them to the following purport.

✓ He told them he was well acquainted with the message they had sent to Ali Bey to return back. For my part (said he) I am also a Bey, and whenever I retire from Mafr, can always live as such. But before I quit this country, I think it my duty, as a good mussulman, to acquaint you, that Ali Bey, who, you imagine, will govern you better than I, is in alliance with the Russian infidels, and will bring a great number of Europeans, as an army, to settle here: nay, more, he is, himself, more an infidel Christian in his heart, than a mussulman: hence you may be certain, that as soon as these Christians get possession of your country, they will take your properties, your wives, and your daughters from you; and above all, will force you to change your religion. I desire you not so much to believe

believe me, as your own observation of the state of our brethren, the mussulmen of Hindostan. When the Christians first appeared on the coasts of Malabar, every cast of the natives behaved to them as friends. They pretended their sole design was to traffic, which was generously permitted them; but the hypocritical infidels no sooner got that permission, but they began to make settlements, under the pretence of factories, and then, by degrees, became masters of Hindostan; robbing the natives of their properties, taking their wives, and violating their daughters; nay, still more horrid to relate, spread their heathenish Christian infidelity amongst the true believers of our holy prophet. Hence you may guess what the infidels will do, if they come into your country, headed by such a man as Ali Bey. I have now acquitted my duty as a true believer, and you are to act as you please.

As soon as he had concluded his harangue, he rose, and pretended to take his leave of them, when the whole audience cried out with one voice, they would defend their religion and property, if he would take the command upon him. To this Abudahap replied, he was ready to shed his blood in the defence of their properties, rights, and religion, if they would as resolutely stand by him. This they promised, and in less than a week he raised an army of twenty-four thousand volunteers out of the populace, (the Janizaries all refusing to take up arms against Ali Bey) and with this force he marched out of Mafr to meet Ali Bey.

As soon as Ali Bey had heard this fatal news, it operated so strongly upon him, that, joined with the great fatigue he had undergone in the journey, and the extreme heat of the weather, it brought on such a violent fever, that
he

he could not attend on his army ; yet, notwithstanding his sickness, which hindered him from lying down, he used to sit at the door of his tent on a stool, covered with scarlet cloth, to see his troops exercise.

On the 13th of April Abudahap came in sight of Ali Bey's camp, and though we were so greatly inferior in number, yet the army was drawn out in proper order to meet Abudahap. Our left wing was commanded by Sheik Slebi, and Sheik Crime. The right by Tantavi, and the other Beys ; the infantry was in the center. The battle began about eleven o'clock in the morning, and Tantavi was very successful on the first attack, but Slebi and Crime were not so fortunate, however, victory seemed to favour us, when our faithless infantry deserted to the enemy. Then all was horror ; Tantavi was surrounded and slain ; Slebi met the same fate ;

Sheik

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Sheik

Sheik Crime seeing his brother and most of his men killed, joined Sheik Hassan, and came towards me. With much difficulty we got to Ali Bey's tent, who, as soon as he saw us, asked, What news? Crime, with tears in his eyes, told him all was over, no time was to be lost, and besought him to mount his horse, and fly immediately to Gaza; but Ali Bey was inflexible, and said he would rather die than go back. Whilst we were thus discoursing, Rufvan Bey came up. Ali then ordered that all, who would save their lives, should hasten their flight before the enemy approached; we obeyed his command, took our leaves of him, and departed about four in the afternoon, with Abdourahman Bey, Morat Bey, Suleiman Kiahaya, and about three hundred of his slaves.

We travelled all that day and the next, till seven in the evening, when we got to Hanneunus, and took some refresh-

refreshments. At four the next morning we set out for Gaza, and got there at noon. When the good old Sheik Daher saw us approach, and heard of the death of his eldest son, and the loss of his friends and army, he fell on the ground on his face, crying out, From this day I am undone. His son in law Sheik Crime, with Sheik Hassan, and all of us strove to comfort him as much as we could, but alas, we were ourselves inconsolable for the loss of our prince, and all our property. Sheik Daher, however, having recovered from the shock occasioned by this intelligence, ordered all his troops to be ready the next morning. But on the evening of the 15th of April, some of our men, who had escaped in the night after we came away, arrived at Gaza, and brought us the melancholy news of Ali Bey's fatal catastrophe, which was effected in the following manner.

Soon after we had left Ali Bey, the Kiahaya of Abudahap approached his tent with a party of about thirty men, and forced their way in, through ten pages of Ali Bey, who opposed their entrance as much as they could, killing and wounding some of the enemy. They being soon overpowered, Ali Bey, sick and infirm as he was, endeavoured to defend himself with his sabre; he killed the first man who approached, with one blow, and wounded two more, when the enemy finding such resistance to their taking him prisoner, fired their pistols at him, and wounded him through his right arm and his thigh. He still resisted, and fired his pistol with his left hand, which wounded the Kiahaya. He then received a blow with a sabre on his left arm, which brought him to the ground, and he was taken alive, and carried to Abudahap's tent. When Abudahap beheld Ali Bey in this condition, he could not refrain from tears, and
severely

severely chid his Kiahaya and his men, for daring to wound him, as his positive orders were to take him without any hurt to his person. They excused themselves, by laying their breach of orders to the resistance made by Ali Bey, which obliged them to use their arms before they could take him. The unfortunate prince was then carried to Mafr, where, eight days afterwards, he died of his wounds; his fever, and his anxiety of mind joining to make them incurable.

Such was the end of Ali Bey, in the forty-fifth year of his age. He was five feet ten inches high, of a fair complexion, light brown hair, and an oval countenance, with large eyes, and a majestic appearance. He was of an undaunted courage, affable in his disposition, of a free and generous mind, of great justice, and of rigid severity in his punishment of offenders.

The

The reader may be curious to know something about Abudahap's proceedings and end, but I am very sorry that I cannot satisfy his curiosity with an exact account, as I was obliged to leave those countries by the first opportunity. On my arrival at St. John d'Acre, I found a merchant ship under French colours, ready to sail for Europe, I therefore hastened on board it, with one of my servants, and came in it to Malta, and from thence to Europe. What I have learnt since, concerning that treacherous man, I shall relate.

Abudahap, after the death of Ali Bey, for whose death he shewed some grief (whether it was real or hypocritical I cannot say), buried him at Grand Cairo, in an honourable manner; and suffered not his head to be sent to Constantinople, as was requested by the Porte.

Having

Having thus attained his ambitious wishes, he governed Egypt as Sheik Bellet, afterwards, for the space of ten months, having for his colleague Ismael Bey. In the course of this time, Sheik Daher being informed that Abudahap had not any intention to invade Palestine, garrisoned all the towns which Ali Bey left to his care, especially Joppa, and surrounded it with a strong stone wall. Abudahap, jealous of Daher's proceedings, could not rest in peace; his haughtiness and ambition would not suffer him to see his master's ally in possession of those places; he therefore prepared a powerful army to go against Daher the following year. He began his march towards Palestine, and in his way subdued Hanneunus, Gaza, and all the other towns, without resistance; but when he came to Joppa, he found it very difficult to subdue the place; he therefore summoned the inhabitants to surrender, and offered to grant them

free

free pardon and safety in their persons and properties ; but Sheik Crime, who governed the place, trusting to the affection of his troops, and the inhabitants, and to the new fortifications of the town, would not listen to any of Abudahap's terms ; Abudahap finding his offers refused, begirt the place very closely, but could not find any means to storm it for a long time ; till at last, an European engineer offered to Abudahap to dig a mine, and blow up the walls of the town, which was accepted, and performed in a little time. The walls being thus demolished, Abudahap entered the town, and put to death most of the inhabitants, without regard to sex or age. After this bloody action, he left Joppa, and marched towards St. John d'Acre. Sheik Daher having heard the fate of Joppa, and its inhabitants, thought proper to retire from Acre, to his sons fortified places, with his family, leaving orders with the inhabitants

habitants of Acre, that as soon as Abudahap arrived there, they should open the gates of the city to him, and receive him with the greatest submission. They obeyed his orders with grief and mortification; he told them that he knew Abudahap's ambition and inhumanity, and for this reason he would not oppose him; for fear they should meet the same fate as Joppa; therefore he chose rather to lose his property, than the lives of his faithful subjects and their properties. A few days after his departure, Abudahap arrived at Acre; some of the eminent inhabitants went to invite him to enter their city, as Sheik Daher had evacuated it before his approach. Abudahap accepted the invitation, and went in and took possession of Daher's palaces, and every thing that belonged to him. Afterwards he sent to Nazareth, for the Roman Catholick friars, who resided there in a convent, to come before him, because he had some business with them; they

they therefore went to him, being afraid of disobeying his orders ; as soon as they were brought before him, he ordered them to bring immediately the treasure which Maalim Ibrahim Sabah (prime minister to Sheik Daher, and of the Roman Catholick persuasion) had deposited in their convent, and which belonged to Sheik Daher, or else their lives should be answerable for it. They answered him that they had not received any treasure from Maalim Ibrahim Sabah, nor from any body else, and if he would not believe what they said, he might send to search the convent ; but Abudahap not willing to listen to their excuse and intercessions, ordered three of them to be beheaded, and the rest to be put in prison, and his orders were put into execution. The friars of Jerusalem hearing this melancholy news, applied to the Mollah of that city, and to the governor, to write to Abudahap, to spare the lives of their innocent fellows ;

lows; they obtained this favour, and accompanied the letters to Abudahap, with some valuable presents, and by this means, the other friars that escaped death, were released. Abudahap, during the time of his residence in Acre, was a terror to the inhabitants, and all Sheik Daher's territories; however, they were soon relieved from this monster. I heard that he went to bed one night very well, and the next morning was found dead in his bed; and thus his iniquities were rewarded according to his proceedings. After this unexpected death of Abudahap, his army left Palestine immediately, for fear lest old Daher should come upon them, with his sons, and went back to Egypt, carrying with them Abudahap's body, and buried it at Mafr; and Ismael Bey succeeded Abudahap as Sheik Bellet.

Sheik Daher having heard of Abudahap's death, and the retreat of his troops,
returned

returned to his capital, and took possession once more of all his former acquisitions. I heard that the Porte sent a full amnesty to Sheik Daher, if he would return to his duty ; Sheik Daher thought proper to accept of it, and sent a sum of money to the Porte, as a tribute and acknowledgment of his submission. The captain Pasha, or the high admiral of the Porte, was ordered to go as far as Cyprus, and Para Sham, or the Coast of Syria, and in his way, to visit Sheik Daher. The captain Pasha, according to his instructions, having settled his commissions in the other places where he was sent, came to Acre to pay a visit to Daher ; Daher not knowing the admirals intentions, received him as a friend, and sent him some valuable presents, and invited him to take a few days repose in the city ; the admiral accepted the invitation, and went on shore ; Daher shewed the greatest hospitality

pitality to him, and to all his attendants; but the admiral soon excused himself, saying, that the harbour of Caifa not being safe, his absence would occasion neglect of duty in his officers, and therefore thanked him for his esteem, and the honour which he had done him, but he would take it as a favour, if he would oblige him so far as to dine with him on board his ship, and would be very glad of his company. Sheik Daher trusting to the Porte's assurances of his full forgiveness, and not thinking of any danger, consented to go; and taking a few of his attendants, went the next day on board the Capitania (the name of the admiral's flag ship). The admiral received Daher with feigned friendship, and to remove all suspicion, saluted him with a discharge of twelve guns; as soon as they went into the admiral's cabin, the admiral took out his orders from the Porte, and

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read

read them to Daher. Poor Daher was distracted at the treachery of the Porte, but it was too late to repent his imprudent boldness: therefore not being able to resist, he submitted, and his head was cut off; and thus this brave old prince ended his life, in the eighty-fifth or eighty-sixth year of his age. Maalim Ibrahim Sabah, who was on board with his master, was put in chains, and was carried to Constantinople, where he died under torture, for not discovering more treasure than he knew of.

Maalim Ibrahim Sabah had two sons, the eldest, named Joseph, was a commissioner of the customs at Joppa; the other's name was George, he was under commissioner of the customs at Acre; but what became of them I know not. As for Daher's sons, I heard some of them shared their father's fate, one after the other; as for the Sangiaks of Ali Bey's retinue,
 who

who escaped with us, and the others, I cannot give any account of them. I hope the reader will excuse me, if this narration about Abudahap and Sheik Daher is not wholly correct, because I was not an eye-witness of the things mentioned in it, but learnt them from reports.

I am sorry to hear of the death of
your mother. My heart is full of
sympathy for you and I hope
you will find some comfort in
the thought of her. I was not
mentioned in the letter from
you.

I am sure you will find
some comfort in the thought of
her. I was not mentioned in
the letter from you.

I am sure you will find
some comfort in the thought of
her. I was not mentioned in
the letter from you.

I am sure you will find
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the letter from you.

I am sure you will find
some comfort in the thought of
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the letter from you.

A SHORT
DESCRIPTION
OF THE PRESENT STATE OF
TYRE AND SIDON,

With Directions for Travellers on that Road.

WHOEVER desires to see these places, and chuses to go by land, must hire a horse or a mule at St. John d'Acre, to carry him to Tyre; this he gets for about five shillings sterling, though the distance is about fifty miles. The road is very safe the whole way, as the different Mutevelys, in their several districts of Mount Libanus, keep the place clear of robbers.

On leaving Acre, you travel about twelve miles northward, by a good road, through a very pleasant country. On the right hand are the plains of Antilibanus, which mountain joins Carmel; they are tolerably well cultivated, and produce great quantities of corn, cotton, and vines; and on your left are several gardens, planted with mulberry, and other fruit trees, and a village situated upon the summit of a small hill. When you come to the bottom of Antilibanus, (which is another branch of this celebrated mountain, to the northward of Acre, and extending to the sea, divides Ptolmais from Cœlosyria) you find a small tower built of stone, but now in decay; some fig trees planted for shelter from the heat of the sun, and a spring of fresh water. Round the spring the soil is very marshy, and in summer exceedingly noxious: here, however, you must stay till your guide and horses are refreshed; and for yourself, you must
 carry

carry provisions from Acre, or else go without any. After being thus refreshed, you begin to ascend the mountain; the road is rather steep, but not dangerous; when you come to the summit of the mountain, you meet a very fine tower, built of square stones, and which was erected in the time of the Christian government there; from that tower begins the territory of a Mutevely, or Baron, one of the five who inhabit Mount Libanus; travelling on this mountain you enjoy a very fine prospect; on the right the declivity of the mountain, and part of the top covered with trees, especially cedar. On the left, an unbounded prospect of the sea. The road, as I observed before, is rather stony, but not dangerous; proceeding towards the north, and north east, for the space of about ten or twelve miles from the first tower, on the mountain you meet with a second, of the same structure, but rather in decay; from thence you cross a

small valley, and then travelling still on the mountain, the same distance, you meet on the road, on your left hand, another tower, inhabited by the Mutevely, when he is in that quarter, and there you must stop to pass the night, and pay the caphar, or toll, which is thirty paras, or about one shilling and ten pence sterling; by paying three or four paras more to the toll-men, they find you a room to sleep in; and if you have any desire the next morning to walk out and see the place, even as far as the declivity of the mountain, by giving a few more paras to the toll-men, they will accompany you, and you may gratify your curiosity with all safety imaginable. Leaving that place, about a mile and a half towards the north, you enter into the territory of another Mutevely, and after going the same distance, you descend into the plains of Tyre, where you travel by the sea shore on your left, and on your right the plains, which extend

tend from west to east, about two miles, and in length, from north to south, about eight. When you approach the Isthmus, on the Peninsula of Tyre, you see some gardens planted with mulberries, for feeding silk worms. Near these gardens are some curious basons, built with fine stone; they are of a circular form, and raised about ten feet above the surface of the earth; one of them, which is the largest of the three, measures, in circumference, about sixty yards; the inside of the basons is built with steps all round, like an amphitheatre, and narrower gradually from the surface to the bottom, as far as I could see, and the water is sometimes very clear; the force of the water, which issues from the spring, is so very strong, that no small weight can reach the bottom; I have tried with a stone, which weighed thirty occas, each occa is about two pound ten ounces, English weight, but it did not reach the bottom. These
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basons pour so much water, that all the adjacent gardens are supplied from them, besides some water mills, which are worked by their streams. They were constructed by the ancient Tyrians ; the modern natives often endeavoured to discover the spring of these waters, but could never succeed. Leaving this place, you proceed north west about three quarters of a mile, then again to the west, and passing the Isthmus, which is very sandy, you behold the ruins of ancient Tyre, which consist of the remains of the walls, scattered in different parts, and mostly buried in the sand ; they are built of brick and stones, and their thickness (as they now appear) is about ten feet. To the south of the ruins are two wind mills. Proceeding to the west, about a quarter of a mile, you enter the gate of the modern Tyre, which was rebuilt by Sheik Hassan, the present Mutevely (if he be still alive). The walls on the land side are of stone,
and

and sufficiently strong; they are about eighteen feet in height, and seven in breadth; and the circumference of the whole town, if I may call it so, about a mile and a half. On entering the gate on your right hand, you meet with some ruins of the old town, and a little further on the same side, an old arch, which was the gate of the harbour, of which very little is now to be seen, as it is mostly choked and filled up with the rubbish of the old town, though small boats can still come into it. On your left you see many ruins, and some small houses, which are newly built, and inhabited by Christians and Mahometans. Farther on to the west, on the same side, is a very large house, built in the European style, two stories high, by an Italian merchant, of the name of Count Giovanni Molinari, by whom I was entertained for three days at this house; it was then inhabited by himself, and some of his partners, who had entered
into

into a contract with Sheik Haffan, the Mutevely of the place, to farm his revenue at a fixed rent, and they were to be at the trouble of collecting the income, and disposing of the produce, which consists chiefly in silk, wool, corn, cattle, and timbers. From Mount Libanus, on the north west, is a chapel, dedicated to the evangelist St. Matthew, which belongs to the Greeks; and near to that another was building, for the Roman Catholicks. Towards the north of this place there are some houses newly built, better than the others; to the south west is the Sheik Haffan's house, which is arched, and has only one story. On the ground, and in the yard of the house, there are four or five pieces of cannon, dismounted, and some mounted on carriages, and which point towards the sea to the west. Going to the west of the town, close to the sea, you meet a part of the walls of antient Tyre, now mostly in ruins; this part was

was built of strong square stones, some of which measured twelve feet in length, eight in breadth, and six in thickness. Upon these stones are fixed some large iron rings, and some pillars standing in the sea. Near the walls to the south east of the town, there are the ruins of an old large church, in the midst of which are two large granite pillars lying on the ground, and extending from east to west, each of them consists of a triple column on a flat stone, the length of which is about sixteen feet, besides the piece which is broke off the main body; the diameter I could not measure, as they lay on the ground covered with nettles; but as nearly as I could guess, the diameter of the three united columns (which were of a single granite) might be about seven feet. To the east of the church on your right hand, is a steeple, with a fine stone staircase, and when on the top of it, you have the finest prospect on every side. The inhabitants of
the

the new town are about four or five hundred ; the houses are built on the ruins of the old ones ; the air is very healthy, though in summer very hot. I take the whole circumference of the peninsula to be about six miles.

Leaving the Isthmus, and proceeding towards the north, you travel by the sea shore on your left, and some plains, and the declivity of the mountain on your right ; and when you come into the neighbourhood of Sidon, you meet some gardens planted with orange, lemon, and all sorts of fruit trees, and springs of water very sweet and fresh. From thence you proceed towards the north west to enter the city, and when you have got into the middle of the town, there is a han (or inn) for strangers, where you may take up your abode, if you have not letters to introduce you to any European merchant. Sidon is still in a flourishing state.

The

The town is surrounded with a stone wall; a citadel on the land side, and another towards the sea. The houses are built chiefly of stone, and are two stories high; some of the streets are paved, and of a sufficient breadth; others are not paved, and are very narrow. The inhabitants are chiefly Christians of the Greek church, and the place is the seat of a bishop of that persuasion, who is suffragan to the patriarch of Antioch. The whole number, Christians and Mahometans, is about sixteen thousand. The Greeks have two churches, the Catholics only a chapel. The French merchants have a factory for their nation. There is a market place in the middle of the city, in which provisions are sold very cheap. There are in the town two public baths, and two mosques. The produce of the neighbouring country is chiefly silk, cotton, wool, some medicinal drugs, tobacco, corn, and timber, from Mount Libanus.

Libanus. The imports from Europe consist chiefly of broad cloth, velvet, brocades, gold lace, knives, scissars, looking glasses, and trinkets; most of which articles are again carried from hence to Damascus.

Sidon stands on a neck of land over against Tyre, and both form a bay of about sixteen miles in breadth. The hire of a horse from Tyre to Sidon, is twenty-five paras, and sometimes thirty.

A DESCRIP-

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D E S C R I P T I O N

OF SUNDRY PLACES IN

P A L E S T I N E.

ST John d'Acre stands on the northern point of the Bay of Caïfa, on your left hand as you go in. It is surrounded by stone walls, which reach from the custom-house, which stands on the south part, and near the harbour towards the west, as far as that point which ends in the sea to the west south west; and likewise on the other side towards the north, are parts of the ancient walls of Ptolmaida, which were built by the knights of St. John, or

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Malta;

Malta; but from thence towards the east, south east, and the south, they are wholly new, being built by Sheik Daher; besides the walls, there is a long ditch, sixteen feet broad and twelve deep from west to east, in which are some various sorts of flowers and vegetables. The houses are built of stone, and generally two stories high, with flat roofs; some of the streets are tolerably broad, but others narrow. To the north east, adjoining to the walls, are Daher's gardens and palace; the gardens are watered from a well, dug between the walls, and from which, by means of a machine, the water is raised twenty-three feet, equal to the height of the northern side of the walls, and there fills the basons or reservoirs, which are built in the gardens; after supplying which, it is from thence conveyed in pipes to different parts of the town. The rooms of the palace are lofty, large, and well furnished in the Asiatic taste. Near it

to

to the east, is the gate of the town, with a drawbridge; on the outside of which is a bazar (or market place) for the country people to dispose of the produce of their farms, to the inhabitants of the city; within-side of the gate are several large brass and iron cannon, laying on the ground, and spiked, as I imagine, by the Christians. As you come in at this gate from the land, on your left hand, close to the inside of the walls, to the south east, are more houses, which belong to Daher and his sons. The capital street which extends from east to west, is filled with shops on both sides of the way, in which all sorts of commodities are exposed to sale. In the south part of the town, not far from the mole and the custom-house, is the European hotel, which is a very fine building, about as large as the Royal-Exchange, and much in the same stile; it is three stories high, with rooms all round, and galleries sup-

ported by marble pillars. The gate of this building is on the west side; the piazza is round, and very well paved; there are two staircases of stone, one on the north east, and the other on the south west side, which form a very commodious ascent up the galleries. In the west end of the town is another hotel, lately built, for the same purpose of lodging Europeans; and in these two places, all these, and their several vice consuls, take up their abode.

To the south east is the palace of the archbishop, who is suffragan to the patriarch of Jerusalem; close to that is the Greek church, dedicated to St. George, the martyr; further on, the Roman Catholics have a chapel, and the Mahometans two jamees, or mosques, and two public baths, besides a market, and a han (or inn) for strangers. The inhabitants are computed at forty thousand. The government in Sheik Daher's time

time was extremely mild, and great indulgence was shewn to the Christians.

Since I have described the town of Acre, it may not be improper to relate some circumstances of the life and adventures of its sovereign. Sheik Daher succeeded his father Omar, when he was thirty-five years old, as chief Mutevely, or baron, over the other four barons of Mount Libanus. From the time he came to the government, he studied to render himself, and his fellow barons, independant of the Bascha of Damascus, and with that view made a proposal to the Porte, of an annual tribute, which he engaged to pay punctually once a year, to the treasury of the Grand Signior. The Porte, to prevent all future misunderstandings, granted his request, which as soon as Daher obtained, he endeavoured, by every act of kindness, to render himself the idol of his subjects. With a view to in-

crease the population of his territories, he invited many Christian families to take up their residence in Acre, to whom he shewed equal indulgence with the Mahometans: he encouraged agriculture, trade and manufactures, and in short, every thing which he thought might prove of advantage to his subjects. And as the port or harbour of Acre is not safe for shipping, they are therefore obliged to use that of Caïfa, in which place, as there were no houses nor water, he ordered a small town to be built, and wells to be dug, and established a small market for the accommodation of foreign vessels which put in there; this town was inhabited chiefly by Christians. He had six wives, by whom he had seven sons and a daughter, whose names are as follow. Slebi, Ali, Achmet, Otman, Mahomet, Mustapha, and Seïd; and the name of his daughter's husband Crime. All these had their own separate castles
and

and territories. In the year 1773, Daher was eighty-four years old, and his whole family of children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren, amounted to two hundred and seventy-two in number.

I shall now proceed to give some description of Caïfa. Caïfa, as I said, was newly built by Daher; the town stands on the declivity of Mount Carmel, to the north; it is about a mile from the western point of the harbour to the east, and about two hundred yards from the shore; it is opposite to Acre, from which it is distant about sixteen miles by water, and about twenty by land. The houses are built of stone, and are about two stories high; the inhabitants are supposed to be about two hundred and fifty; to the westward of the town is a road, which ascends to the mountain; on the top of which is the cave of the prophet Elisha; to the

west end is a Christian chapel. Proceeding to the east on this mountain, is a field, in which are found petrefactions of various fruits, especially water-melons. To the southern declivity near the sea, is the town of Salha, with a harbour for boats and small craft. I proceed next to give some account of the road from Acre to Joppa. The distance is reckoned by the Arabs about one hundred and twenty-six miles, but I do not think it more than one hundred. The hire of a camel is five cursh, or half crowns; that of a horse seven. When you leave Acre, you travel towards the south about six miles, and then you ascend that neck of Mount Carmel, which divides it from Antilibanus; as you proceed in this direction about twelve miles, you come to a place where you pay a toll of thirty paras, or sometimes forty. From thence you proceed towards the south west, leaving on your left the mountains of Galilee, and

and those of Naplouse; on your right the plains of Cesarea of Philip; you see on the declivity of these mountains, some small towns, and a village or two in the plains, where you stay to pass the night in your journey; the road is smooth, and by no means dangerous. When you come near Cesarea, you may change your course to the west, and satisfy your curiosity by a sight of the ruins of this once famous and magnificent city, in which now there is not a house to be seen. The remains of the walls however testify its former grandeur. From thence to Joppa, is but fifteen or sixteen miles; about a mile and a half before you come to Joppa, you cross a small rivulet, which is the only running water in all this fertile country; you then descend a hill, and get into a road, which is covered on each side with orange and lemon trees. As you enter the gate of Joppa, under the arch, are seats on each side,

side, where the Janizaries sit who guard the gate ; proceeding in a strait line is the market for provisions ; on the left hand is the public bath, and close to that a jamee, or Mosque ; on the right is a large coffee-house, beyond which are many shops on each side of the street ; on the left side is a han, or inn, for strangers. You then come to another gate, on passing which, on your right, are the ruins of a castle close to the sea. On your left is the custom-house, from which you may walk on a fine mole, which is built of large square stones ; it is about eight hundred yards in length, and about fourteen feet broad. After you pass the custom-house, on the same side is the Armenian convent, a very large structure, in which four or five hundred pilgrims are accommodated on their journey to Jerusalem. The ground floors of the houses, from the custom-house to the end of the mole, are all shops and warehouses. A little further is a convent

vent of Roman Catholick friars, not so large however as the Armenian ; at some small distance from this is a stone staircase, of about eighty-six steps, on ascending which, you go up a street, and turning to your left, proceed about twelve yards, and then to your right to another street, on going up which you meet an old square built tower, which is filled with rubbish ; higher up is the citadel, inhabited by the governor of the castle, and a few Janizaries. Before you enter the gate on the outside, are three old large brass cannons, about ten feet long each, and laying on the ground, with some inscriptions in Roman letters, which I could not read, as most of the letters are on that part which lies on the earth. The castle is built in the antient stile ; on the top of the parapets are planted some guns, which are pointed towards the sea. On the arch of the gate on the outside are some Latin inscriptions, but as they are mostly covered

covered with mortar, I could make nothing of them. To the east of the castle is the house of the cadi, or Turkish judge. Round the castle from the south east of the town to the north east, as far as the gate, the inhabitants are Mahometans; and from thence, all the western part is inhabited by Christians. By descending the steps which you before ascended, and proceeding to the harbour on the south, you come to the Greek convent, which is very commodiously built on the declivity of this rocky hill. Further on is a han, or inn, which belongs to the Armenians, but in which, apartments are let out to merchants of every persuasion. At the end of the mole is a battery of three guns, and a small gate to the south east near it. The gardens of this place, and the wells in them, which are worked by camels or horses, by the means of machines to bring the water up from a certain depth, are very curious and entertaining

tertaining to strangers. This town, as I mentioned in a former chapter, is surrounded with a stone wall, but as soon as Ali Bey got possession of it, he ordered Daher to build a new wall round the tower, as the old one was gone very much to decay. The whole circumference of the walls is about two miles, and the number of inhabitants computed to be seven thousand. From hence, if a traveller wishes to go to Rama, which is twelve miles distant to the east, he may hire a horse or a mule for about twenty paras. The road is very smooth and pleasant; the fields on each side abound with several sorts of flowers, and are planted with olive groves, and in some parts with cassia and fenna trees, and other aromatic plants. In all this journey there is no village to be seen, except one on the left side near half way, which stands on a small hill, opposite to which is the mausoleum, or tomb, of a Mahometan

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faint, called by the natives Sheik Mustapha. When the traveller arrives at Rama, he may, if he is an European, go and lodge at the Roman Catholick convent, in which there are constantly six or seven friars; it is not far from the gate of the town, and lies on the left hand, close to the street. This town was formerly very populous and magnificent, as appears by the ruins of many large antient palaces, and other grand structures. The present state of Rama is very deplorable; the walls in decay, most of the houses empty, and the streets narrow; the situation however is extremely pleasant. The houses are stone, two stories high, and in the town are two mosques, and a public bath. The Armenians have a convent here, as have also the Greeks, who have likewise a church dedicated to St. George the martyr. The French factory is very trifling, in the year 1773, only two French merchants resided there,

there, Monsieur Melan, who was the vice consul of Joppa, and Monsieur Bonet. The traffic they carried on was chiefly in European goods, broad cloth, silk, velvet, gold thread, and such other articles as I mentioned before in the description of Sidon. In exchange they send to Europe, cotton-yarn, cotton, soap, drugs, and other trifling things. The whole circumference of the place is about three miles; it has a market, and the number of the inhabitants is between three and four thousand. To the west of the town is a suburb or village, inhabited wholly by Arabs, who subsist by husbandry. To the south east, about one hundred yards from the walls of the town, is a large stone building, of a square form, in which are many things to testify its former grandeur; it is about three quarters of a mile in circumference. To the east of the town is a large square pool, built of fine stone, about sixty feet

feet in length, thirty in breadth, and twenty feet deep, and surrounded by a wall about five feet in height from the surface of the ground on the outside, it is supplied by rain water. To the north, about the distance of a mile, is a subterranean cavern, the entrance of which looks to the east; the traveller descends by a stone staircase; four rows of arches support the roof, each row containing four arches, the height of which from the pavement, which is of polished stone, is about thirty feet; the length of this place is sixty yards from north to south, and the breadth about fifteen from east to west; the order of the building is Corinthian; it is filled with rain water in the winter, but this being consumed by the natives, or otherwise dried up in the summer, the traveller can walk about and indulge his curiosity with the sight of it; the roof is very little higher than the surface of the ground. About a mile from this place

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to the west, is another pool, in the form of the first, and deeper, but it is now in decay, and without water. Half a mile to the north west of the town, is the old famous church or convent of St. John the Baptist, the ruins of which enable the traveller to judge how magnificent the structure must have originally been. To the north west of the ruins stands a square steeple, built of large granite stones, which are cemented together, not by mortar, but melted lead: it is a matter in dispute whether it was originally built by a Christian or a Mahometan, as over the door of the steeple is a marble slab, with an Arabic inscription on it, importing that it was built by a Sheik Omar; but in my opinion it was built by a Christian, both from the shape and structure of it. As you go in a door on the south side, there is a winding staircase of eighty-six steps, about a foot and a half each, from the bottom to the gallery, and

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twelve

twelve more from that to the top ; this staircase is lighted by oval holes in the walls ; the prospect from the top is delightful. This ruin is in the hands of the Mahometans, who use the outside for a burying-place. One of the monks of the Armenian convent asked me one day to take a walk after dinner in the fields round the town ; finding ourselves fatigued, we rested ourselves upon the grass under the shade of some olive-trees, which were planted between the church, and a hedge of Faraow fig-trees. As we were talking together, I saw two animals come out of the hedge, of a greyish colour, with long tails, about fifteen yards from the place where we sat ; as I could not conceive what animals they were, I asked the monk, who informed me, to my great surprize, that they were rats ; for I can assure the reader, that in all my travels, I never saw any of such a size ; as well as I could guess
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at that distance, they were about a foot and a half high, and two feet long. Jackalls in this country go in flocks, but are not mischievous; foxes and wild boars are also very plenty. The produce of the country is corn, oil, tobacco, drugs, soap, cotton and callico; spring water is very scarce, but they have cisterns and wells, besides those pools which I mentioned before. From hence to Lida is a pleasant walk of about three miles, the road is smooth, and the country on each side delightful. The greatest part of Lida stands on rather a hilly situation; it is an episcopal see, and suffragan to the patriarch of Jerusalem; some of the houses are tolerably built, but the rest are chiefly low and mean. The most remarkable structure to be seen here is the church of St. George the martyr, now in ruins, in which is the tomb of that saint. The streets are narrow and filthy; the inhabitants are mostly Christians. The Mahometans

have a mosque and a public bath ; there is besides, a market for provisions, and an annual fair, which commences the 3d of November, old stile, to which the people of the neighbourhood resort, to dispose of the produce of their farms, or their industry, which is much the same as at Rama. The inhabitants are computed at about two thousand. To the east of Lida is a valley, which parts that country from the mountains of Judea and Samaria. The tame animals of both countries are camels, horses, mules, asses, oxen, and sheep, together with the wild beasts I mentioned before. Besides these two places, there are some other small towns or villages, which generally stand on the declivity of the two mountains, which extend from north to south ; but as they contain nothing remarkable, except some monuments or old towers, and other buildings, I do not think proper to trouble the reader any further, but to return

turn to Rama, or Joppa, and give some account of the journey to, and description of, Azotus, or the city of the Philistines, and from thence to Gaza.

If a traveller wishes to see either of these places, or both, he may go from Rama or Joppa: you may hire a horse or mule at Joppa, or Rama, for two cursh, or five shillings sterling, and a few paras to the guide who accompanies you. The road is pretty much of the same kind as that from Joppa to Rama, and Lida, except in some part of the country, where there are no large trees. The distance from Joppa to Azotus, which is called by the Arabs, Hafaneyun, is forty-six miles to the south. The traveller must therefore reckon on passing one night on the road, and in order to do it with comfort, must provide himself with accommodations before he sets out; for though the Arabs are naturally hospitable, and provide a

stranger with victuals, and a place to lodge in; yet, as they have no furniture for themselves, he who is not used to lie on a carpet, or on mats spread on the floor, must carry with him a thin mattress stuffed with cotton, a pair of sheets, and a quilt. The resting-place is at a village which lies on the left hand, about thirty yards out of the road; from whence, after breakfast, which usually is on milk, or bread and cheese, and coffee, and a pipe of tobacco, if he be fond of smoking, he proceeds on his journey; but in the course of this he must neither appear generous nor stingy; neither affect to be rich, or give signs of poverty. In the latter case he cannot expect to be well served, and in the former he exposes both his property and himself to be plundered; and this maxim holds good in all the country with which the Arabs are connected. On his arrival at Azotus, he must go to the han, or inn, if he has no particular recom-

recommendation from Joppa or Rama; but in general the kiragee, or conductor of the party, procures a proper place of entertainment, and proportioned to the means or appearance of the person who travels under his protection. The town is but thinly inhabited, though the situation is very pleasant; with regard to the houses, those that were built in the time of Christianity, and which are now inhabited by Mahometans, still preserve some claim to admiration; but the modern buildings, though generally of stone, have nothing in them which can attract the notice of a traveller. The streets of this town are broader than I expected to find them; the inhabitants mostly Mahometans, with a few Christians of the Greek communion, who have a church under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Gaza. The town is about a mile and a half in circumference, and has in it a mosque, a public bath, a market-

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place,

place, and two inns. The number of the inhabitants is between two and three thousand. The most remarkable things in this place, is an old structure with fine marble pillars, which the inhabitants say was the house that Sampson pulled down; and to the south east, just out of the town, the water in which the eunuch Candakys was baptized by the apostle Philip. Besides these two, there are several ancient buildings, with capitals and pillars standing; westward of this place about three miles, was Ascalon, of which very little is now to be seen, except the remains of some walls scattered about the place. From Azotus to Gaza, are twelve miles more; it lies to the south west; the fields on each side of the road, as in the others, are planted with olive, and some palm trees. The traveller as he approaches to Gaza, makes a small descent, and then turns to the west, and ascending the hill upon which the town stands,

stands, enters through an old gate, which is called the Old Town of Gaza ; in this part are all the ancient buildings, and old towers, now almost in decay, except the citadel, which is still maintained in a state of defence. Gaza stands upon a hill, and extends in length, from east to west, about three miles, and about a mile in breadth. It is divided into two, the old and the new ; the former is to the east, the latter to the west. In the Old Town is the governor's palace, the castle, which stands close to the walls on the east side, and is a very magnificent building, with a fine garden. The castle stands to the south, and is a very old structure, with some pieces of cannon on it, which are mounted on carriages ; besides these, are the barracks for the garrison, which was formerly the hotel of the knights, and a very excellent structure. The church of St. John the Baptist, now converted into a mosque, and the Greek church,

church, dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The beseftain, or merchants market, and that for provisions, two publick baths, two inns, the quarter for the Christians shops, where all sorts of merchandize are exposed to sale; in this town also, the better sort among the Turks reside. Some of the streets are broad, and well paved, others very narrow. The houses are generally of the same size, and built in the same taste with those I have already described in other towns. There are some old buildings which still attract the admiration of the traveller. New Gaza is inhabited by the inferior Mahometans, and the Arabs; there are a few gardens, in which they grow some vegetables and fruits, a small market for provisions, and a bath. The houses are very mean, and the streets narrow and dirty. The number of the inhabitants in all Gaza is reckoned at about twenty-six thousand. The country around is very fertile; its chief produce

produce is corn, oil, flax, cotton, honey, bees-wax, and wines. Outside the town, towards the south, is a market for the country people to dispose of their commodities to the inhabitants, for they are not permitted to enter the town. In time of peace provisions are very cheap. Gaza is about five miles from the sea, and the bare expence of travelling from Joppa thither will not exceed seven shillings. But the European traveller, who wishes to visit these countries in safety, and see things to advantage, must dress himself in the fashion of the country, let his whiskers grow, and endeavour to learn a little of their language, or else they will impose upon him. And if I may be allowed to give my opinion, I think if the East-India Company wished to promote a more expeditious intercourse with their settlements in India, Gaza would be a more proper place than any other, from whence to forward their dispatches, provided

provided they appointed a resident there, who was well acquainted with the language and customs of the country, and directed him to establish a correspondence at Raithu, which is about seven miles distant from the convent of Mount Sinai, to the south east, and near the Red Sea; their letters could be forwarded from thence to Mocha much sooner than they could from Suez. Gaza is about eight days journey from Mount Sinai, and a good dromedary will perform it in four. They might, in the first instance, dispatch their letters from Europe, to the British consul at Cyprus, from which place to Gaza, is about thirty-six hours sail, so that in a week, or ten days at furthest, letters may be conveyed from Cyprus to Raithu. Before I quit the subject of travelling in those countries, since I have mentioned the India Company, I think it may prove not unacceptable, if I give some instructions

tions to those gentlemen who wish to go to India by land.

To those who prefer the way of Suez, my advice is, as soon as they leave Europe, to let their whiskers grow, and as soon as they arrive at Alexandria, to change their dress for the habit of Greeks or Armenians, but not in the Arabian stile, unless they be perfect in the language; and instead of putting up at an European house, I should recommend to them to go and lodge in the convent of St. Sabba, which lies on the south east, near the ruins of Old Alexandria. They can easily prevail on the Abbot, to procure them a Greek or Armenian interpreter, of whom there are many to be found; as soon as they have got one, they may enter into agreement with them to go as far as Suez. On their setting out from Alexandria for Cairo, let them go and lodge at the hotel of the archbishop of Mount Sinai, which

which is in a street called Juvania ; their interpreter can procure them all necessaries, and direct them safe to this place ; there they meet with many eminent Christian merchants. The traveller must be informed that there are two hotels which belong to the convent of Mount Sinai, one is for the residence of the archbishop, and his clergy, and the other for the use of travellers, and foreign merchants ; a few monks and an abbot reside in this last, to supply their customers with rooms, for which they pay so much a month. Out of the revenue arising from this, the archbishop purchases provisions for his other convent at Mount Sinai, which he sends by his Arabs once a month ; and as these Arabs pass by Suez, the traveller, on being recommended by the archbishop, or in his absence, by his vicar, may, through their means, travel to Suez without danger. I must however advise him not to discover his intentions, nor to be too generous in

in his presents to the Arabs, who often ask from strangers a bakeesh, or present ; a para or two at a time is full enough ; but when he arrives at the place of his destination, he may give them ten or fifteen paras. The less money, in short, which he shews in his purse, the better. In order to avoid suspicion, I recommend to every traveller in those countries, to supply himself with a harach, or receipt from the Grand Signior, for the poll-tax ; of these there are three sorts ; the first of which is called ela, and costs twelve cursh, or half crowns, and is that paid by gentlemen and merchants ; the second is called efsat, it costs half as much, and is for tradesmen ; the third sort costs only three cursh, and is the tax on labourers ; by buying either of the two first, the traveller may go in safety through all the Turkish dominions, as by means of this he appears as a subject of the Grand Porte to all intents, and is consequently entitled to
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the protection it affords. My reason for advising the traveller to follow this method, is, that when Mahomed Bey Abudahap rebelled against his master, he, with intention to draw all the Egyptians to his party and interest, filled their minds with such enormous lies against the European travellers, that the Arabs, out of their enthusiastic zeal for their religion, think it a meritorious act to kill a person of that description. I have related the reason and the speech of Abudahap, which he made use of to the Arabs, in the conclusion of Ali Bey's life. I imagine I may have said enough about travelling in those countries, and from these hints the traveller may consult the best method for the safety of his person and his property.

Remarks

A short Account of the present State

OF THE

C H R I S T I A N S,

Who are under Subjection to the

TURKISH GOVERNMENT.

IT will not be amiss to give to the reader some account of the present state of the Christians, who are under the dominion of the Turks, I mean the Greeks and Armenians, and how they are used by that arbitrary and absolute government. I shall therefore begin with their chiefs, which are the four patriarchs, with their titles, how they are elected, what power they are invested with by the government, and finally, how far each patriarch's diocese extends.

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I shall begin with that of Constantinople ; when the patriarch of Constantinople dies, or is dismissed from his see, the twelve metropolitans, which are called by the Greeks ἐκκλητικοί, or electors, and are the following, to wit, first, that of Heraclea, second, of Caesarea of Cappadocia, third of Nice, fourth of Ephesus, fifth of Chalcedon, sixth of Lacedemon, seventh of Crete, eighth of Athens, ninth of Dreftas, tenth of Patraso, eleventh of Trebifond, and the twelfth that of Nicomedia, these twelve prelates hold a council in the patriarchal palace, and out of the number of the metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, or priests, choose one ; and if he is of the first class, he is only invested with the patriarchal mantle, which is made of purple sattin, adorned with gold lace, having in the front the emblems of the four evangelists, and then the metropolitan of Heraclea presents him the pastoral staff, and charges him

him to be a true guardian of the church of Christ, which is entrusted to him, with many other exhortations. After this the whole body of the prelates jointly takes hold of him, and seats him upon the patriarchal throne, pronouncing three times the word *ἄξιον*, or worthy. He then rises, and gives his benediction to the congregation, who in return cries out, *ὦς πολλά ἔτη Δέσποτα*, or, for many years O Lord. The day after, the report of the proceeding is made to the Grand Vizier, by the great logothete of the great church, who is generally the principal interpreter to the Porte, and of the Greek persuasion. The Grand Vizier appoints a day to receive him, then the elected patriarch goes to the Porte on horse back; the prelates follow him on foot; and the Grand Vizier receives him and them with affability; the ceremonial reception being over, the Vizier asks the prelates whether the patriarch was duly elected, with one

voice they answer he was : and whether he is worthy to occupy a place of such importance, they answer in the affirmative ; then the Vizier says to the patriarch, “ as your nation found you worthy to govern them in their religious rights, so my master approves of the choice of his zummees, or tributaries, and confirms you in that dignity, with this condition, that you keep them in obedience to him and his successors.” He then takes the pastoral staff from the metropolitan of Heraclea, and puts it into the right hand of the patriarch, invests him with a caftan, and treats him with coffee or sherbet. The patriarch then takes his leave of the Vizier, and returns to his palace. But if he is of the latter class of priests, he must be first consecrated by the twelve prelates, and then goes through the before-mentioned ceremonies. The title of the Patriarch is as follows, *the most Holy Archbishop of Constantinople,*

Constantinople, New Rome, and Universal Patriarch; his jurisdiction is all Turkish Europe.* The Ionic Islands, Corfu, Leucadia, Cefalonia, and Zante, Cethyra, or Cerigo, the Morea, and all Greece, with all the islands of the Archipelago, as far as Rhodes, and all Asia Minor, as far as Tarsus, except Cyprus, which belongs to the Archbishop of that island, who is called the *Most Blessed Archbishop of Cyprus, and New Justiniana*, and is independent.

The patriarch of Constantinople pays annually to the Porte, as a tribute, from eight to twelve purses, each purse five hundred kouroush, or half crowns, English, besides various fees to the Grand

* Except Bosnia and part of Macedonia, and Illyria, the first of which belongs to the Archbishop of Ochridon, who is an independent prelate, and is called the *Most Blessed Archbishop of the Second Justiniana*, and the latter belongs to the Archbishop of Dyrrhachium, now Durazzo, and is called the *Most Blessed Archbishop of the first Justiniana*, who is also independent.

Vizier, and other officers. All the prelates who are suffragans to him, are consecrated by him jointly with two or three other prelates, after they are elected by the bishops, who are suffragans to each archbishop, who are above two hundred. They send annually each of them the Porte's tribute, with a surplus towards the expences of the patriarchal see. The patriarchs and all other prelates, who are under the Turkish government, have patents from the Grand Signior, which allow them to hold courts of judicature, to settle all disputes which arise amongst the Christians, and chastise their own clergy; they are exempt from all other taxes to the governors of different provinces; they ride on horse-back without being molested by any Mahometan whatsoever.

The ceremonies before mentioned, on the patriarch's translation, or consecration, are the same for all prelates in their
own

own diocese, except that of being confirmed by the Grand Signior, which belongs only to the patriarchs, and the independent archbishops. The reader perhaps wishes to know what is the revenue of these prelates, and how they are supported; the reader will be disappointed, who forms his notions of this matter, from the wealth and magnificence of European bishops, for I can assure him, that the richest diocese never exceeds fifteen hundred pounds per annum, and the poorest is not above one hundred and fifty, even out of this they are to pay the Grand Signior's miree, or tribute; make presents to the governors, and other officers, and support themselves and their families. This revenue arises from a tax upon houses; each house inhabited by Christians, pays from five to ten paras, according to their circumstances. In their appearance abroad, they can hardly be distinguished from the other monks, or calogeros,

except when they are in their own dioceses, when generally two or three of the clergy walk with them, and this is all the pomp of the Greek prelates. I shall now proceed to give an account of the other patriarchs.

The second is that of Alexandria, whose riches are comprized in the revenues of eight churches, and the magnificence of his title, which is, *The most blessed Pope and Patriarch of the great city of Alexandria, Lybia, Pentapolis, Æthiopia, and all the land of Egypt; Father of Fathers, Shepherd of Shepherds, Prelate of Prelates, the Thirteenth of the Apostles, and Universal Judge*. I hope the reader, instead of laughing, will lament with me, the deplorable condition of that once famous see, which formerly contained three hundred Metropolitans and Archbishops, and was the residence of many of the fathers. As for the titles which the Greek prelates

lates enjoy, I think they have more right to them than some monarchs have to theirs, because they were bestowed upon them by general councils, and by Emperors, whilst those of the monarchs were given them by a single prelate.

The third is that of Antioch, he is in rather a more flourishing state than the former, though his capital now is a small village; he retains still some suffragans, and metropolitans, of whom are the following, of Mesopotamia, Berea, or Veria, now Aleppo, and Damascus, now called Sham by the Turks, Tripoli, Laodicea, or Latekia, Tyre and Sidon, and Berytus, and one or two others, whose dioces I cannot recollect; his jurisdiction formerly extended over Persia, all the East-Indies, Babylon, Mesopotamia, and all Syria, as far as Antilibanus, which divides Palestine from Syria; his title is *The Most Blessed Patriarch of the Great City of Antiochia,*
and

and the places which I have mentioned before.

The fourth is that of Jerusalem, who generally resides at Constantinople, not being able to defray his expences at home, as his presence there requires presents to the governors, and the chiefs of the Arabs ; he keeps still thirteen prelates under his jurisdiction, viz. six metropolitans and seven archbishops, who are the following, viz. of Cesarea of Philip, of Scythopolis in Arabia Petrea, of Bethlehem, of Petra, on the other side of the river Jordan, of Ptolmaida, and that of Nazareth ; the archbishops are these, of Neapolis, of Lydda, of Gaza, of Joppa, of Sebastia, of Mount Sinai, and the last of Mount Tabor. Though there are yet some Christians in the dioceses of some of these prelates, they dare not visit them on account of the enormous exactions of the Arabs, except those of Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Lydda, who

who sometimes go and reside there for a month or two, but they generally reside at the patriarch's palace, or convent at Jerusalem. The patriarch's income is the charity of the Christians, who come from abroad to visit the holy land, and some voluntary contributions from abroad; his title is *The Most Blessed Patriarch of the holy city of Jerusalem, and all Palestine, Syria, Arabia, the other side of Jordan, the borders of Galilee, and Holy Sion.* The patriarch of Jerusalem is not elected by his suffragans, but he chooses his successor in his will, who is generally the metropolitan of Cesarea; but in case he is infirm, or over aged, or not a man of great learning, and of eminent piety, he chooses the worthiest from amongst his suffragans. After having said thus much concerning the chiefs of the Greek church, I now come to the Armenians.

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The Arminians have three patriarchs, the chief of them is that which resides in Armenia Minor, at a place called Four Churches, he consecrates the other two, one of which resides at Constantinople, and the other at Jerusalem. They are rather titular patriarchs, and suffragans to the former, he having more suffragan bishops under his jurisdiction, which the others have not; they are all three richer than those of the Greek church, on account of their people being richer, and more conversant in trade and mercantile life, than the Greeks.

The Greeks have at Constantinople and Galata, or Pera, twenty-five churches; the Armenians six, and the Roman Catholics two at Pera. The titles of metropolitans and archbishops, is that of *Most Sacred*, and the bishops the *Lover of God*. When any of their superiors write to them, they give them only the title of *Sacred*, and *Lover of God*,

God, and *Brother in God*; such a one of such a fee. The patriarchs when they write to each other, give always their proper title; they are independent of each other, and when one of them is in the jurisdiction of the other, he cannot preach or perform the liturgy, without the consent of the proprietor, or his vicar. Thus far of their chiefs; I shall now treat of the community.

All the male Christians who are subjects to the Ottoman Porte, pay a capitation tax to the Grand Signior, from seventeen years old to sixty; the rich people and merchants pay twelve half crowns a year; tradesmen six, and labourers six shillings and ten pence half-penny. Those that live in Constantinople are fortunate enough, because they pay no other taxes; but those who live at a distance from that capital, can scarcely support their families and themselves, because the governors impose
whatever

whatever taxes they please, and the poor wretches have no redress, though they might easily be relieved, if they would join together, and send deputies to Constantinople, with a petition to the Grand Signior; but it must be with the greatest secrecy, or else, if the governor learns their intention, woe betide them; they would be dragged into prisons, loaded with irons, whipt, and perhaps deprived of life. Such is the condition and present state of the poor Christians, except sometimes when their bishop is a man of spirit, and can afford them some relief from their calamities; but for want of money this comfort very seldom happens. The inhabitants of the islands of the Archipelago, are rather better off than those on the continent, because they belong to the Capitan Pasha, or high admiral, and purchase the government of him among themselves, and have no other Turks among them but a *cadi*, or judge, and their taxation to
the

the Porte is no more than five shillings a year per head. The inhabitants of the isle of Chio are better off still, because that island belongs to the princess royal, or the first born Sultan, and the inhabitants are all united, so that the governor and Janizaries have not power to molest them, or impose on them ; but Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus, are in the same predicament as those on the continent.

And now kind reader, having made you acquainted with the present miserable and deplorable condition of that once learned and valiant nation, make yourself easy in your happy situation under the English government, and pray to Divine Providence, to deliver your fellow Christians from their oppressors. As for myself, I thank my God who has delivered me from that tyrannical government, and conducted me to this generous nation, under whose laws I enjoy my liberty, though in an obscure situation.

I cannot

I cannot but make use of this opportunity, to express the grateful sense I have of the many instances of kindness and civility which I have received from some benevolent friends, and I hope, though I cannot make any adequate returns, they will still continue the same generous protection, and that I may be thereby enabled, at this distance from my native land, to obtain a decent support.

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X.

AS I have given the reader an idea of the mode of travelling in the Turkish dominions, I think it will not be unpleasing to the curious, if I annex the following journal of a gentleman who travelled by land to India, by the way of Aleppo, Bagdat, and Bassora; which journal I was favoured with by a gentleman, to whose friendship I am greatly indebted, on this and many other occasions.

P

Remarks

Aleppo, Thursday, Nov 2, 1780.

Months	Days	Day Mar.	Places Names	Courfe corrected	H M	Computed Eng. Miles	Camel Paces	Where Water
Nov.	3	1	From Aleppo to Spheree	SE by S	5	11 ³ / ₈	10700	Fine clear Rivulets of Water
	4	{	Remained					
	5		encamped					
	6		at Spheree					
			to					
	7	1	Hagla	SE $\frac{1}{2}$ S	4 12	9 ⁷ / ₈	9270	Well of bad Water

Remarks on a Journey over the Little Desert of Arabia, from Aleppo to Bagdat and Buffora; commencing November 2d. arrived at Buffora 26th December.

CLOUDY hazy morning, wind easterly, at eight A. M. mounted my camel very awkwardly, and set off with thirty camels; passed several plantations of olive trees and pistachio nuts. At noon passed a village called Neireb, and at one P. M. encamped at Spheree, to wait for Mr. Rubin, and the Sheik of the caravan.

Remained encamped from the third, till the seventh in the morning, waiting for Mr. Rubin, a Jew merchant, who, I have great reason to believe, has been the occasion of fifteen days detention; besides, makes me pay for guards and guides for the expedition, and has altered my plan and agreement, from a light snug travelling caravan, to a heavy loaded one: how far I may be right, in judging that thirty camels I had agreed for, eight only with light loads, might reach Bagdat in half the time the present caravan, consisting of eighty-six camels, fifty of which heavily laden, are likely to do it in, time will determine.

Travelled only four hours from Spheree to Hagla, and encamped for the day to prepare for the regular march.

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Months	Days	Day Mar.	Places Names	Courfe corrected	H	M	Computed Eng. Miles	Camel Paces	Where Water
Nov.	8	1	to Has Meferr	SE by S	8	30	19 $\frac{3}{4}$	18190	No Water
			to						
	9	1	Anda Veau- gul.	ESE	9	15	20 $\frac{6}{8}$	19970	No Water
			to						
	10	1	Elgaor Tchi- eltiora	SE by E	10	30	23 $\frac{1}{2}$	22470	No Water
			to						
	11	1	Ain il Kom	SE by E	7	30	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	16050	Bad Water
	12	1	Ain il Kom	SE	1	30	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3210	Good Water

R E M A R K S.

Fine weather ; decamped at forty-five minutes past six, A. M. passed over the south end of the Salt Plain, that supplies great part of Syria with that necessary article. Encamped at a quarter past three, P.M. our caravan spreads a long distance, and goes heavy.

Fine weather ; decamped at a quarter past six, A.M. now fairly on the desert ; wild rural scenes, and appears like a calm day at sea ; nothing to intercept the view to the visible horizon ; encamped at half past three, P.M.

Pleasant morning, cold, not agreeable to the Arabs, but makes it pleasant to me ; decamped by six, A.M. and travelled until half past four, to get into a snug place, should the desert Arabs attack us.

Pleasant and cold weather ; decamped at half past four, A.M. and encamped at noon near a spring of fetid spaw water ; however, the camels drink greedily ; I have been for three days much tormented with the Spheree water.

Fine pleasant weather ; moon totally eclipsed from six A.M. to about thirty-five minutes past. Mr. Rubin remained last night at Elga, and we decamped at half past six A.M. and at eight ditto encamped, making three miles distance, at a run of very fine spaw water ; this manoeuvre was on account of Mr. Rubins travelling

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Months	Days	Days Mar.	Places Names	Courfe corrected	H M	Computed Eng. Miles	Camel Paces	Where Water
Nov. 13	1		{ the Plain of Geboul Bufshier	SE $\frac{1}{2}$ E	8 30	19 $\frac{4}{8}$	18190	No Water
			to					
	14	1	Hopra Fadle	SSE $\frac{1}{2}$ E	10	22 $\frac{4}{8}$	21400	No Water
			to					
	15	1	Ferrafche	ESE	6 30	14 $\frac{5}{8}$	13910	Two Wells of bad Wa- ter.
					71 27	161 $\frac{2}{8}$	153360	

R E M A R K S.

all last night, we now must give him a resting day; indeed he is the patrone, as he orders the sheicks to do just what he pleases.

Decamped at half past six, A.M. passed to day several water channels, but quite dry at this season of the year; at three P.M. encamped.

Fresh north west wind; makes it very cold for the Arabs, and with a very large fire of desert weeds they had made to windward of my tent, had set fire to my tent ropes, but waking prevented further mischief only the fall of my tent. Decamped at a quarter past six, and encamped at a quarter past four, P.M. under a hill of alabaster.

Very cold, but pleasant; at six A.M. decamped, and at a quarter past nine came to Ferrache, where are two wells of spaw water, which the camels drink greedily, but very disagreeable to the nose; the wells are cut out of the alabaster rock, about twenty-five feet deep, and have been a work of great labour; we found here the fresh dung of a number of camels, so suppose that the desert Arabs have been here yesterday; staid here about three hours to refresh the camels, and then travelled until three, P.M.

Months	Days	Days Mar.	Places Names	Course corrected	H	M	Computed Eng. Miles	Camel Paces	Where Water
Nov	16	1	Giboul Buf- shier is the particular Name	SE by E	8	45	19 $\frac{5}{8}$	18725	No Water
			to						
	17	1	Dickaynia	ESE	8		18	17120	Several Wells of bad Water
			to						
	18	1	the Defert on the rout to Routgaugh	SE by S	3		6 $\frac{6}{8}$	8025	No Water

R E M A R K S.

Fine pleasant morning, wind southerly ; at a quarter past six all in motion ; the Arabs find it very cold, but to me pleasant ; my flux continues, but not so severe ; wishing to ascertain the exact distance between Aleppo and Bagdat, I have taken a good deal of pains, and made an amusement for self and servants, in counting the camels paces every time she lifted the right foot, and found as follows. The desert being full of small shrubs, they continually graze as they march ; in some places their favourite shrub is more plenty, then there is a good deal of time lost. Little grazing 2240 paces in the hour ; midling grazing, 2120 ; good grazing, 2060 ; medium 2140 per hour. I also measured many of their paces, and found on a medium five feet six inches, and for thirty hours, his medium travel was two English miles and a quarter per hour ; I also walked a good deal, and found, that loaded camels in a caravan, of more than fifty, can never exceed two miles and a quarter per hour, by the above computation my journal is regulated. Encamped at three, P.M. 16th. The 17th decamped at a quarter past six, A.M. and encamped at two P.M. the 18th being Saturday, Mr. Rubin prevented the sheik from moving until one P.M. two strange Arabs came into our encampment, and they were permitted to go away, as they were believed spies. Mr. Rubin consented to move three hours out of the common track, where we encamped, and had no disturbance from the tribe the spies belonged to.

Cloudy

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Months	Days	Days Mar.	Places Names	Course corrected	H	M	Computed Eng. Miles	Camel Paces	Where Water
Nov.	19	1	to Routgaugh	SE	8		18	17120	No Water
			to						
	20	1	Querlastep	ESE $\frac{1}{4}$ E	8	30	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	18190	Little Rain Water in the Rocks
			to						
	21	1	Gelta	ENE	9	15	20 $\frac{6}{8}$	19970	No Water
			to						
	22	1	Anna	NE by E	9		20 $\frac{1}{2}$	19260	Euphrates
	23	1	Paffed from the North- ward of the Town to the South.	SE	1	30	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3210	Ditto along the Banks
	24		Encamped Remained encamped						

R E M A R K S.

Cloudy weather, and cold; at a quarter past six decamped; a very romantick plain, with some ascents, or swells; and at about eight miles to the north east, saw the Euphrates; we have been in its neighbourhood three days, but our people do not chuse to go too near, as the tribes of Arabs are along it, on account of their flocks; at two P.M. encamped.

Small rain to day; at half past six, A.M. decamped, and had a full view of the Euphrates, north east; the banks appear rugged, and in some places very high; found some rain water under a broken alabaster hill; soon drained by the camels; encamped at three P.M. a camel was butchered to save his life, to the great joy of the Arabs, who are very fond of camels flesh. Decamped at seven, being very cold; at four P.M. encamped close to a range of chalk hills, which is very soft, and crumbles like whiting.

Very cold morning, wind north west; it was seven A.M. before we were off our ground; at ten A.M. passed two hills, look like kittesfauls, computed ten miles from Anna; passed several ascents and descents, and many hills of chalk; the most romantick country I ever saw, many of the hills of old stone, that are full of cavities; at a distance it has a pretty effect, and looks as if cultivated, but when you draw near it, is a dismal object. At three P.M. came to a rising, where we first discovered
the

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Months	Days	Days Mar.	Places Names	Courfe corrected	H M	Computed Eng. Miles	Camel Paces	Where Water
Nov.	25		Crossed the Euphrates					
			to					
	26	1	DerMahomet	SSE	5	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	10700	Encamped along the Euphrates
			to					
	27	1	El Maface	SE by E	7 30	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	16050	DittoDitto
			From Maface left the Car- ravan, and with 13 light Camels tra- velled expe- ditionally to Ther Thur	SE by E	9 45	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	25350	Left the Euphrates No Water

R E M A R K S.

the Euphrates, and the town of Anna along the borders, all which was delightful, and a feast to the eye of a traveller just coming off the desert. Anna has a number of date trees, which is a pleasant diversity from barren rocks, and a flat desert with small shrubs. As my paper allows me to give but short extracts, I have selected the most necessary for a traveller. We encamped very regularly, the sheik having light camels, went a head, and pitched the ground for me and family, which was always to the eastward, being the first to set off on the line of march; the rest formed a circle, the camels and baggage in the center for a citadel; in case of a serious attack, I had learned all the Arabs two words, drughroo and bono, to serve as watch words in case of an attack in the night, not otherwise being able to distinguish the Arabs of the caravan, from the desert Arabs; they were so expert, that every one when on guard, used to repeat either drughroo or bonno, and the other would answer; this I particularly recommend to the traveller, for his own safety, and the Arabs of his caravan, in case of being attacked in the night; and coming out of his tent in the dark without a watch word, it will be impossible to know friends from foes. The 28th persuaded Mr. Rubin to set off with twelve light camels for Bagdat, that I might prepare for my journey to Buffora; now the difference was discovered, we travelled at the rate of three miles and a quarter per hour, and continued ten hours on the march; also were able to

haste

Months	Days	Days Mar.	Places Names	Courfe corrected	H	M	Computed Eng. Miles	Camel Paces	Where Water
Nov.	29	1 ¹ / ₂	To the northward of Bagdat Salt Plain	SSE	9	20	30 ³ / ₈	24260	No Water
			Defert from the Salt Plain in the Night	SE	6		19 ⁴ / ₈	15600	Well Water
	30	1 ¹ / ₂	Over a level Defert, and the beaten Track of the Salt Caravans	SSE	8	30	27 ⁵ / ₈	22100	Passed two Wells of tolerable Water.
			Same track in the Night	S by E	3	30	11 ¹ / ₈	9160	Suppose there is Water, but being Night could not see.
			over						
Dec.	1		A very Level Defert, and the beaten Track of the Salt Caravans to Bagdat	S by E $\frac{1}{2}$ E	9	30	30 ⁷ / ₈	24700	Several Wells and reservoirs of good Water.
									River Tigris
		23 ¹ / ₂			186	32	466 ³ / ₈	422840	

R E M A R K S

haste forward in the night, and I declare I was not more fatigued than in keeping company with the caravan. We arrived at Bagdat the 1st of December, and the caravan did not come in until the 6th at night, just the day before a grand festival, which detained me three days before I could get my effects from the custom-house; its now verified, that with the light travelling caravan which I had paid for, and ought to have had, I should with ease have reached Bagdat in sixteen days, all this I through a linguist at Bagdat explained to Mr. Rubin, who only smiled at the relation, and said, its true the Arabs did not behave well, but he had no fault; I only hope that the old Turk, Amoud Ackmet Agely, will give Mr. Robert Abbott a clear account of all he knows, and if its true what he has deposed to me of Rubin, his character ought to be known, that my worthy Aleppo friends may not be deceived by a man who has their confidence.

The Aleppo gentlemen have great merit in their civilities, and kind assistance to travellers for the desert, and neither spare themselves, time, nor good offices to accommodate them in the best manner they are able; of course we should not only be thankful, but live in hopes to shew our gratitude. I do not think I shall ever attempt the same rout again, still there may be many necessitated as well as I have been, for those I wish my remarks may be serviceable, and in the latter part of these
scraps

scraps I have made some hints for the traveller to attend to, and which he will find useful.

Days of travelling. Say 24 days, making 7 hours 50 minutes per day, and $19\frac{1}{2}$ miles each day : with light camels I went 151 miles in 46 hours, which is $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles per hour, and was not near so much fatigued as creeping two miles each hour ; and had my caravan consisted of thirty light camels, we should with ease have reached Bagdat the 16th day instant ; what detention the loaded caravan has been ! we left them the 28th, and reached Bagdat the 1st, and they did not come in until the 6th ; its true we travelled 9 hours 30 minutes of our time in the night. Mr. Rubin and his sheicks have been the occasion of a detention to me of forty-two days, by which I have lost three opportunities in getting forward ; first in joining my friend Stevenson, who waited at Bussora for me until the 18th of December, and then he took his passage in a large convenient trankey for Mascat. Second, I missed a passage in a large ketch, which sailed the 16th December for Bushire and Bombay. The 24th of December, three days before my arrival, the Mercury Packet, Capt. Forbes, belonging to the Honourable East-India Company, sailed from Bussora for Bushire and Bombay ; this was a capital disappointment. In hopes to overtake her at Bushire, I took my passage the 29th, same trankey, and the 31st December was near being wrecked in the river, in a hard gale of wind from the south east, which continued four days, with heavy rains, by which I got a cold and slow fever, and did not arrive at Bushire.

The

The underwritten declare to have agreed with Sheik Mahommed El Fehairy, and Sheik Mahommed Mamtavy, to conduct me to Bagdat, with twenty guards properly armed, and four friendly Arabs from the desert, of the different tribes we are likely to meet, and I am to give them two hundred and ninety-five Zurmacobs, or sequins, in lieu of every expence and charge attending the journey, and the above to be paid as follows, ninety-five sequins at Aleppo, on signing this agreement, and one hundred sequins the day of departure, and the last hundred sequins on my safe arrival at Bagdat, The above-named two Sheiks are to provide for self, servants, and baggage, five camels, and they engage to leave this place in twenty-five days from this date, but in case of their not being able to procure the four friends to accompany me, they then agree that I am to deduct eighty sequins from the above named sum of two hundred and ninety-five.

Dated in Aleppo this 28th September, 1780.

Signed,

R. H.

Addition. Should the above-named Sheiks take any goods with them, they oblige themselves to take only eight loads, and they are not to exceed one kintall of Aleppo for each camel.

Signed R. H. and solemnly agreed to by the Sheiks, in the presence of Mr. Rubin, Mr. R. Abbott, &c.

Q

The

The before-mentioned was the agreement, thought full and sufficient by my friends at Aleppo, which might have been sufficient with honest men ; how far the above gentleman has complied with it, I will relate, adhering strictly to the truth, which has come under my own knowledge ; and what I advance as hearsay, I shall mention the names of the parties, who I believe can clearly prove their assertions.

To my own knowledge Mr. Rubin detained my caravan eight days, first at setting off, four, from the 3d of November till the 7th. on the rout to Anna two sabbaths ; at Anna two days, a sabbath, and refreshing himself. Mr. Rubin, a Jew merchant of note at Aleppo, was the person whom my friends applied to for procuring guards, and guides, to escort me over the desert ; on his being sent for, he pretended the difficulty and fear in obtaining any ; at the same time he was in treaty with the Sheiks he brought for me, to procure him twenty camels and guards to go with goods to Bagdat ; and some days after his first visit, he brought the two above Sheiks, and saddled me with the whole cost and charge of a caravan chiefly loaded by himself, and friends, who were easy whether they arrived in November or January : and in the room of a light travelling caravan of thirty camels, it consisted of eighty-six, sixty of which were loaded with the full weight of six hundred pounds ; so that we were thirty days from Sperree to Bagdat, which is evident could have been performed in sixteen days, with light travelling camels, (vide journal.)

Besides

Besides Mr. Rubin was the occasion of fifteen days detention at Aleppo, on account of his holidays, &c. from the 23d of October, until the 7th November; the excuses that were made, that the friendly Arabs were not arrived, were false, as they never intended having but two; that we had only one friendly Arab, was proved, when two strange Arabs came into our camp at Dickaynia; eighty sequins was paid for four, which ought to be returned. As this can be proved by Amound Achmet Agily, who was the best guide and guard we had, I gave him a line to Mr. Robert Abbott, (who I hope will be able to procure some satisfaction from the Sheiks, that have so grossly imposed on me,) to endeavour putting a stop to these mock agreements, calculated for the advantage of a set of rich Jew merchants: and if the Sheiks will not enter into a reasonable penalty, to perform their contract, travellers must not expect to procure light camels, or to travel expeditiously; and to prevent the enormous expence and dissatisfaction, they must wait the general caravans, when they will know at setting off what they are to expect.

Places Names	Miles	Hours	Minutes
Bagdat to Azad	13	4	30
To Berranefs	6	2	
To Scandera	7½	2	30
To Mahavil	12	4	
To Hillah	11	3	45
To Emmum Ali	30	10	

Rout from Bagdat to Sammeva, with loaded Jack Asses, or Mules; they carry about 150 lb luggage, each, and you sit like a Baker with two panniers.

A Fine beaten road, and near the Tigris. Azad is a caravanfera, and a well of water, with twenty or more miserable Arab huts.

We put up for the night at Berranefs; it is a very spacious caravanfera, and two wells of good water, with a number of Arab huts.

Scandera, a very miserable caravanfera, with a well of water; the Arabs huts in ruins.

A fine large Arab village, with a good run of water, let in from the Tigris; a good caravanfera, and a mosque.

Hillah, a very considerable frontier town, belonging to the Turks; here you pass the Euphrates, over a bridge of thirty-two boats; and now you leave this part of Mesopotamia; we have been near seventeen hours: with horses and light baggage it may be performed in about twelve hours.

Emmum Ali is a famous town, with a grand mosque, with two minarets all gilded; this town is said to have the great Ali, Son in law to Mahomet, buried here, and is as much frequented as Mecca.

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Places Names	Miles	Hours	Minutes
To Ramahie	20	6	
with Horses loaded			

Sammeva	52	16	
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R E M A R K S.

An Arab town called fortified, with mud walls, and turrets; just stopped to refresh, and set off in the night, as the inhabitants are reputed robbers. Take water and provisions, as you have fifty miles a barren desert, and no water; and you pass many Arab tribes, none of them to be trusted, so endeavour to pass them in the night, and be on your guard; have leading halters to the baggage horses, and let the servant lead them in the night.

A large straggling Arab town, called fortified, without guns or works, built along the Euphrates; and the river is as broad here as about London-Bridge; this is a very proper place to take water for Bussora; but the Arabs are the most imposing people I ever met. I arrived also at a very disagreeable time; the Bashaw of Bagdat having a war with the neighbouring Arabs, he had pressed all the boats, and I was detained four days before I could procure a boat, the size of a common canoe, for which I was obliged to pay fifty dollars; the crew and boat were not worth half the money.

We were 48 hours, 15 minutes from Bagdat, or five days and one night, and tried jack asses, mules and horses, but with light baggage and horses you may perform it with ease in four days.

	Miles
It makes the distance from Aleppo to Bagdat	466
From Bagdat to Sammeva - - - -	151
From Sammeva to Bassora by Water - -	257
	874

874 English Miles, and as H. took a good deal of pains in computing the distance, he is certain of being right.

Now with dromedaries and good Arab messengers, from Aleppo to Bagdat, they may make the rout without any extraordinary fatigue, in twelve days; and fresh messengers at Bagdat, for Sammeva, four; boats ready there, properly equipped, four to Bassora, allowing some detention: so that in twenty days your expresses may be conveyed, and without any extraordinary exertion, dispatches of consequence, one this way, and the other direct over the desert to Bassorah.

Passage from Sammeva, in a long narrow-built boat, like a canoe, called a Mushook, with a miserable coxen, and two boat-men, that could eat rice, mutton, and ghee, and smoke from morning to night. After the second day, finding the crew could not manage the boat, nor keep her off the banks of the river, I took charge of her, and with three volunteers I had engaged at Bagdat, my Aleppo servant, and Indian, we made shift to manage her very well, and the Arabs were very well satisfied to remain inactive.

Thursday the 21st December, at half past ten A.M. }
left Sammeva until Friday six, A.M. is - - }

Friday the 22d ditto, from six A.M. until Saturday }
six, A.M. - - - - - }

Saturday the 23d ditto, from six A.M. until eight }
P.M. obliged to haul ashore on account of wind }
and rain - - - - - }

Sunday 24th ditto, detained by the flood, and fresh }
easterly winds, seven hours - - - - - }

Monday the 25th ditto, strong flood tides and con- }
trary winds, only made - - - - - }

Tuesday the 26th, half past ten, A.M. until four, }
P.M. a fine fresh gale, northerly - - - - - }

Hours

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Hours	Minutes	M per hour	Miles	Courie
19	30	2	39	ESE
24		$2\frac{1}{2}$	60	E by S
13		$2\frac{1}{2}$	35	East
17		3	51	E by S
15		3	45	SE by E
5	30	5	27	S by E
94 hours			257 Miles	

This passage is a very extraordinary one, as we did not advance as fast as the stream runs, owing to our apparatus and a bad crew : as the river was not broad, we were the two first days brought up against the banks of the river, from side to side, by which much time was lost ; but a tolerable boat with four oars, and eight men to spell each other, would with ease make the passage in three days, and part of two nights. In returning from Bussora, it must be very difficult in tracing, on account of the banks having many high shrubs, and bushes, and also a great number of openings, cut by the Arabs, to let the river in and out of their grounds ; this would greatly retard your progress, and I have a very despicable opinion of Arabs activity. There is no flood above thirty miles from Bussora, but in the springs, and without the wind is fresh easterly, it is not strong, so that the return messengers must go by land from Bussora to Aleppo, but by Bagdat from Aleppo, if the road is clear to Sammeva, then by water ; an European resident will be necessary at Bagdat ; little dependence on Armenians, or country servants.

R. H. found on this rout over the Little Desert of Arabia, many disagreeable circumstances that might have been avoided, had any of the numerous travellers left their remarks with a friend at Aleppo, which I hope they will do in future ; H. now begins the example, and as he took some little pains in observing how remedies could be applied to prevent those that may follow him, from getting into a train of difficulties which he experienced, if travellers will only pay a little attention to the

the following remarks, they may pass over with some degree of pleasure, and ease the mind, to counterpoize the fatigues of the body. A single gentleman intending to go via Bussora to the East-Indies with dispatches, is to observe two periods for his proceeding from England: first, if he sets off from the beginning of August to February, he ought to proceed via Vienna, Constantinople, and Aleppo, by land; to Vienna the posts are tolerably agreeable, and he can get rest in his chaise; but from thence to Aleppo will be very fatiguing to a person not accustomed to riding, as he must travel the whole way on horse-back; so let him consider this before he sets off, and provide himself with a comfortable saddle. If he leaves England from the beginning of March to the last of July, he will find at Trieste, Venice, or Leghorn, a conveyance by shipping to Cyprus; but I must advise, that a month, or at least a fortnight before he set off, he write to Trieste, Venice, and Leghorn, to a good house, desiring they will make inquiries at what time the first vessel is likely to sail for Cyprus, Alexandria, Alexandretta, or Lathecia, and if no vessel is yet determined in going there, then desire they will inquire if a snug vessel can be procured on freight, directly to Lathechie, or Cyprus, and the terms, and that they will be as expeditious as possible to forward this answer to your friend at Vienna, to remain until your arrival, you will act according to your intelligence; and should it so happen that you are early in April, and there is no appearance of a vessel going, or procuring on freight at either of the above-mentioned ports, then you must not hesitate, but push on by land. Your baggage
must

must consist of only two middling portmanteaus, and a port folio letter-case for your papers; two good English muskets, and two pair of pistols for your self, and servant from Aleppo; if you have more baggage, you will find it very inconvenient; having the East-India Company's protection, you will be assisted by the consul, and gentlemen, and they will use their best endeavours to procure you every necessary. On your arrival at Aleppo, request the consul will order six light camels or dromedaries, four Arabs to accompany them, and two of his best messengers, with horses; and if it is the cold season, hire a horse for yourself, otherwise ride a camel, and get a proper saddle, fitted agreeable to my remarks to Mr. Robert Abbott, and remember to take store of water from the town; your principal want is a good linguist, he may act also as a cook for such things as you may want, the principal part of your diet being tea and biscuit, cold tongue, beef, or heating your fried mutton. If your messengers are good, they may prevent your falling into any considerable tribe of Arabs, who keep a very indifferent look out: and as you must constantly in the day time keep one of them a mile or two a head, looking out, and mounting every swell that is in your rout, where they can have a clear look around them; of course, if any Arab encampments are discovered, it is only altering your rout in time, and making a circuit round them; have signals to your advanced messenger; if he wants you to stop, let him put his handkerchief on his spear, and wave it, until he sees you stop, then let him advance to reconnoitre, but be careful not to go too near to be perceived; and should
his

his fears turn to bushes, or shadows, he may again hoist his handkerchief on his spear, and keep it flying as a flag, until he perceives you begin to advance again; this is to prevent your losing more time than is necessary, by waiting for the Arab going backward and forward. Should you discover a large encampment of Arabs a-head, and the desert on each side quite level, that it would be difficult to take a circuit without a probability of their seeing you, you had better stop in time, and remain till dark, and then you will see their fires, and pass them accordingly; you and your servant, or linguist, should be well armed, your Arab messengers lances and match lock, as also your camelliers, making together eight. Two hours before you expect arriving at the principal watering places, dispatch one of your messengers forward to reconnoitre, giving him particular orders to be very circumspect, and not to advance too far, until he sees the coast clear, and let him repeat the signals as before-mentioned, or any other you may think better; remember always to have one messenger near you, for any service you may have for the horses: and when you have nearly advanced to the watering place, stop your camels until your dispatched messenger makes you the advancing signal, or returns to you with an account of what he has seen; and if he has discovered a considerable tribe of Arabs encamped, you must then consider if you can hold out for water, until you reach the next place, if you cannot, then advance with a proper spirit, keeping close together, and prepared for the worst; always on guard, but let prudence direct your actions, both with the Arabs

under

under your command, and also to strangers. These latter must never be allowed to come nearer than thirty yards, and always be careful of permitting them from false pretences, to get within the length of their spear, and if they advance, tell them to keep their distance, and by your linguist, whom you must let mount the messengers horse, let him advance and speak to the Arabs friendlyly; first to inquire where the sheik is; when he comes, tell him you are a soldier going to Bufforah; that you have no merchandise, or any thing but letters to your friends, and some provisions; that you look upon all the Arabs of the desert as your friends, and that if you find him so, you will tender him a present; that you desire he will not molest you in the watering, and will give orders to his people not to approach too near your baggage; and to convince him that what you say is true, you are ready to allow him to send two of his trusty people to look over all the baggage, and they shall be treated kindly. This appears to me to be the only mode to deal with considerable tribes, wherever you may meet them, either on the desert, or at the watering places; act always with spirit, and resolution, keeping prudence for your guide; and remember before you set out from Aleppo, to get your friends there to inform your messengers, Arabs, and servants, that they must on no pretence whatever enter into disputes, or give bad language to the Arabs you may meet, if they do, by your linguist informing you the same, you will, if the sheick of the tribe requires it, deliver up the delinquent, to be punished by the sheicks orders, agreeable to their own customs; this
caution

caution may be of general good; as your servants under your protection often act very improperly; from a belief you will take their parts: much depends on your linguists; first, that you understand each other, and that he is always careful to explain your orders, and not confound them with his own notions or prejudice. "I must say I have a very low and indifferent opinion of the Arabs, however, it would be cruel in me to condemn the whole tribes, on account of those few I have had dealings with. And I have been credibly informed by a gentleman who has resided long among them, that they have many valuable good qualities; intermixed with the bad; and that they are remarkable for mercy to their bitter enemies; that they are neither cruel; or revengeful. Robbing is their trade by profession; still they do not call taking your property, robbing, it is only a tax they think their due; as proprietors of the desert; and they appear fully satisfied in receiving small presents, which they will always insist on when they can: and it is remarkable, that after they have robbed you of every thing, go immediately and crave their protection; and they will cover your nakedness, and give you a part of the same fare they have themselves, and keep you with them until they can set you forward with another tribe on your route. When drove to necessity they will fight, but chiefly to defend themselves, for they are in all their measures very careful of being wounded; as the loss of either man or beast lessens the consequence of the sheick; so much for their characters,"

The above principles of the Arabs make it appear, that they will always avoid extremes, so that when your force is not sufficient to put them at defiance, behave with spirit and prudence, and treat with them with arms in your hand ; as they never quit their spear, you should never ground your musket while they are near you, and keep your pistols loaded in your girdle. At Aleppo provide yourself with Arab coats, sugar, and toys proper for the Arabs, to the amount of one hundred piaftres, and with a few hundred in cash, you may satisfy many tribes ; if you have no occasion to give the presents, you may always turn them into cash at Bagdat or Bassora. These are the hints that occur to me at present, and can be greatly improved on by the gentlemen at Aleppo ; and if every gentleman that either goes or returns over the desert to Bagdat or Bassora would communicate the most remarkable events he meets with in his route, and leave them with the chief at Bassora, and consul of Aleppo, I doubt not but in time the desert will be as easily passed as any of our English forests, heaths, &c. and less liable to collectors than they are. These remarks are calculated for only one European person, if more, the greater your force, and it is only adding a camel more, provision, &c. in proportion ; and if a gentleman chuses to go in company of a caravan, you have only to be careful in having a good saddle and Aleppo water, a horse in the cold season, with a grey hound and hawk, and you may have coursing every day ; the whole desert being full of hares and rabbits.

Your

Your Aleppo baggage, if you travel expeditiously, must consist of the following, and do not upon any account lumber yourself with a single unnecessary article

First, a soldiers tent, with two poles eight foot long, and one ridge pole, with thick canvass; if not procurable, then double dungree: this will hold five to sleep in, and four may fit very well; it will keep out hard rain, and the dews; set up and taken down in five minutes, and carried by a child. With a caravan you may indulge yourself with a bell tent, hanging cot, camp table, chairs, &c. &c. as you are to have some Arab great coats, they will serve you for bed, rug, and pillows. Rice and bread sufficient for twenty days. Meat for your camellers and messengers. Half a sheep each European, fried down in butter. Some dried tongues. Corn'd beef. Plenty of coffee, tea and sugar. Eggs. Tobacco for yourself and Arabs. Lanthorn and twenty candles, steel, tinder, and matches. Tea kettle, coffee pot, rice pot, and frying pan. Drinking cup. Barley for your horses. Four skins of water, and two holders. Two large skins for your horses water. You will never be above three days in travelling expeditiously, from watering places for your cattle. Vide journal.

F I N I S.



The reader is desired to correct the following ERRATA.

Page	3	line	22	dele by
	11	—	8	read of August
	12	—	16	read every Spring
	34	—	2	read fichiadé
	51	—	15	read mafters
	59	—	8	read piece
	70	—	2	for Joseph Daout, read Daout
	—	—	13	read maraud
	—	—	14	for Natolia, read Georgia
	127	—	20	read Abdourahman
	195	—	15	read fee
	200	—	9	read of Candace

